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CHINESE IMMIGRATION,

IN

ITS SOCIAL AND ECONOMICAL ASPECTS.

BY

rederick
GEORGE F. SEWARD, 1840-

LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO CHINA.

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
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"Whereas, The right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and whereas in the recognition of this principle this Government has freely received emigrants from all nations and invested them with the rights of citizenship; and whereas it is claimed that such American citizens, with their descendants, are subjects of foreign states, owing allegiance to the Governments thereof; and whereas it is necessary to the maintenance of public peace that this claim of foreign allegiance should be promptly and finally disavowed, Therefore, any declaration, instruction, opinion, order, or decision of any officer of the United States which denies, restricts, impairs or questions the right of expatriation, is declared inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Republic."

Revised Statutes of the United States. (Act of July 27th, 1868.)

"The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively, from the one country to the other, for the purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents."

Treaty with China. (Proclaimed July 28, 1868.)

PREFACE.

The following pages will exhibit to the reader the results of a careful study of the social and economical aspects of the questions involved in Chinese immigration.

I approached the examination of these questions with a strong feeling that the United States ought not to interfere unnecessarily with immigration, because in doing so we would depart from principles well established in our national life, and because arbitrary interferences with natural processes prove, as a rule, unavailing and injurious.

As I proceeded I became satisfied that no necessity exists for such action. I found, in brief, that the Chinese have been of great service to the people of the Pacific coast; that they are still needed there, but in a less important measure; that the objections which have been advanced against them are in the main unwarranted; and that the minor evils incident to their presence may be readily abated under existing treaties and within the lines of ordinary legislation.

I found, also, that the fears of a large immigration which have been entertained, are unnecessary and groundless.

The facts and considerations upon which I have based these conclusions are stated with reasonable fullness, and, as the subject is important, I may hope that my treatment of it will receive the candid examination of my countrymen.

To the recommendations made by me, showing in what way existing abuses may be abated, while leaving untouched the broad principle of the right of man to change his home and allegiance, I invite especial attention.

I have made no attempt to deal herein with any other than the social and economical aspects of Chinese immigration. I have supposed that the action of the country will be determined in view of these, but certainly the political and commercial issues involved are not devoid of interest.

If the course of events shall appear to make it desirable, I shall offer to the public hereafter a statement regarding this part of the case.

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CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

PART I.

THE NUMBER OF THE CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Spirit of exaggeration characterizes the statements of anti-Chinese partisans. Statements of mass meeting held in San Francisco in 1876. Statements of counsel before the congressional joint committee. Statements in Congress, and by congressional committees. The facts as revealed by the census and by customs' statistics of arrivals and departures. Probable number of Chinese in the United States in 1876–80, not more than 100,000; in California, 75,000. Distribution of Chinese population. The misstatements made in this connection discredit the statements of anti-Chinese partisans in other directions. The question of importance in connection with the general problems involved in Chinese immigration.

A spirit of exaggeration has characterized the utterances of many persons whose views are hostile to the immigration of Chinese into the United States, both when they have spoken of the objections which may be urged against such immigration, and when they have estimated the number of those who have already reached our shores. The latter is a question of statistics, yet statements of the most random nature have been put forward and have gained currency. A mass meeting was held in Union Hall, San Francisco, on the 5th of April, 1876, at which

NOTE.—This chapter was written before the results of the recent census were declared. In appendix A will be found an abstract of the census so far as it affects the questions involved which sustains the conclusions reached by me. I leave the chapter as it was written in order to indicate not only that the extravagant statements referred to in it were unfounded, but, also, that the data necessary to reach an accurate conclusion were perfectly available.

resolutions adverse to Chinese immigration and an address to Congress were adopted. The meeting was promoted by the mayor of the city, and its president was the governor of the State. Three distinguished citizens were appointed to present its action to Congress. A degree of accuracy might have been looked for under such circumstances, yet the address set forth in a positive way, that there were, at that moment, 200,000 Chinese in the State and 75,000 in the city.[1] I shall be able to show, as I believe, that there were not more than 100,000 Chinese in all the United States at that time, and that not more, perhaps, than 75,000 of these were resident in California, the city of San Francisco included.

I desire to dwell a moment upon these exaggerated statements before proceeding to set forth my reasons for believing that the actual population was not greater than I have indicated above.

When the joint committee of the two Houses of Congress on Chinese immigration met in San Francisco on the 21st of October, 1876, there appeared before it the "Honorable Frank McCoppin, representing the Senate "of the State of California; Frank M. Pixley, Esquire, "representing the municipality of San Francisco; and "Cameron H. King, Esquire, who appeared on behalf of "the anti-coolie clubs of the city."[2]

The first of these said in his opening address;—"Our "present Chinese population is estimated at 116.000, of "which number about 30,000 are domiciled in the city."[3]

Mr. Pixley said;—"I should therefore fix in my own "opinion, and think we will be able to show to you by "testimony, that the Chinese in this country, embracing "the State and coast, number from 150,000 to 175,000."[4]

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[1] Gibson's Ch. in Am., p. 15.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 9.

[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 10.

[4] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 12. This gentleman, when upon the witness stand, said;—"We have 250,000 Chinamen here"! Rep. Ch. Im., p. 371.

Mr. King said;—"We shall prove that over 148,000 "Chinese reside in our State; that the yearly excess of "arrivals over departures, has been, for the last year, "certainly 18,000, and that the ratio of this number is "annually increasing."[1]

Such utterances have not been confined to special pleaders, but have been heard in Congress, coming from representatives of districts where the facts should be accurately known.

Mr. Page, a distinguished member of the California delegation, said, in the House, on the 29th of January, 1879;—"These people have come in hundreds and thou- "sands, until their number has been increased in the "State of California to 150,000."

Mr. Luttrell, another well-known member from California, in the course of the same debate used the following language;—"Not one of these one hundred and "fifty or two hundred thousand Chinamen who reside "on the Pacific slope, owns a homestead, or contributes "to the good morals of society or to good government."

Mr. Sargent, the able and esteemed senator, speaking on the 14th of February, 1879, said;—"We want this legis- "lation because the burden is intolerable. There are "now in California more Chinese than there are voters. "Do senators weigh that fact? There are now in Cali- "fornia, at the time I speak, more Chinamen than there "are voters, and they are increasing enormously year by "year and month by month, restricted somewhat by the "tone of feeling toward them, restricted somewhat by the "chance that Congress may take action in the matter, re- "stricted somewhat by the fact that a large class of our "people, who feel this oppression the most, and who are "most restless under it, have, in spite of the cooler coun- "sels of those who are philanthropic, of those who desire

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 12.

"to prevent scandal, to prevent injustice, sometimes "shown their teeth and threatened, seeing that Congress "would apparently do nothing for them, to take the "redress into their own hands, and do the way the old "Germanic nations did, when they were threatened with "an irruption of barbarians, force back the tide by every "means with which God has endowed them."

Mr. Grover, of Oregon, in the same debate, said;—"If "it becomes understood that the Chinese shall come and "stay in peace, it will not be half a century before the "Asiatics will outnumber the Americans on this conti-"nent."

And not only have special advocates, and members of Congress and senators, spoken in this way, but committees of Congress, which have considered the subject, have given currency to extravagant declarations. The report of the joint committee upon Chinese immigration, was submitted to the Senate on the 27th of February, 1877. The following language will be found in it;—[1]

"Their number in California at the present time is so "great that they could control any election if the ballot "was put into their hands. The number of adult Chi-"nese at the present time, is as great as that of all the "voters in the State, or nearly reaching that number, and "they increase more rapidly than the other adult popu-"lation of the State. * * This problem is too import-"ant to be treated with indifference. * * It must be "solved, in the judgment of the committee, unless our "Pacific possessions are to be ultimately given over to a "race alien in all its tendencies, which will make of them "practically provinces of China, rather than States of the "Union."

On the 25th of February, 1878, Mr. Willis, from the committee on education and labor, submitted to the

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. VII.

House of Representatives a report from which I quote the following language;—"The lowest estimate of the "Chinese in the Pacific States is 150,000. Accepting this "as correct, it will be seen that at the above rate of increase, and after deducting the large number who "yearly return, the Chinese population will, in the near "future, exceed the male adult population of Americans "in those States, and all other races combined. Even "at present it closely approximates the voting population."

These statements, taken at random from the mass of such statements, indicate the habitual declarations of anti-Chinese partisans; and what are the facts?

I find in the first place, that in 1870, after more than twenty years' experience of the migration of different races into California there were in the State, according to the census taken by the government of the United States, a total population of 560,247, of which 48,823 (including 32 Japanese) were classed as Chinese.[1]

I find in the next place, that in the same year (1870) the total number of males in the State of California of the age of 21 years and upwards was 227,256, and that the total number of Chinese males 21 years old and upwards, was 36,890.[2]

I find again, that in the same year the total number of male citizens, 21 years and upwards, was 145,802.[3]

I find still again, that the total number of Chinese in the United States in 1870, including 54 Japanese, was 62,736.[4]

It will be said at once that the Chinese population must have increased greatly after 1870 and before the dates of the various utterances to which I have called attention, that is to say, 1876, '77, and '78. Let us see what there is to be said on this head.

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[1] Census 1870, vol. Pop. and So. Stat., p. 336.

[2] Census 1870, vol. Pop. and So. Stat., p. 619.

[3] Census 1870, Pop. and So. Stat., p. 619.

[4] Census 1870, Pop. and So. Stat., p. 336.

We have as a basis for an estimate the census enumeration just given, that is to say for 1870, a Chinese population of 62,736.

We have in the next place a tabular statement presented to the Congressional commission by Mr. Alfred Wheeler, one of the witnesses who testified before it, giving the number of Chinese who arrived at and departed from San Francisco during the years 1852–76.[1] This table was made up by him from the records of the custom house. The particulars for the years 1870–6 are as follows;—

Year.	Arrivals.	Departures.	Gain.
1870	10,869	4,232	6,637
1871	5,542	3,264	2,278
1872	9,773	4,887	4,886
1873	17,075	6,805	10,270
1874	16,085	7,710	8,375
1875	18,021	6,305	11,716
1876 to Oct. 1st	13,914	3,481	10,433
	91,279	36,684	54,595

The Chinese population at the end of 1876 would have been, then.......... 62,736
and.......... 54,595

say.......... 117,331
less the natural decrease by by death.

If we estimate the number of deaths at two per cent. annually on an average population of about 90,000, we shall need to deduct—

from.......... 117,331
say.......... 12,600

104,731

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1196.

In making this computation, however, we have twice counted the Chinese who entered the United States in the year 1870, before the census was taken, and we have not allowed for the excess of departures over arrivals in the last three months of 1876 these months being those when the outward movement usually exceeds the inward. Taking these two items into the calculation, there seems very good reason to believe that the number of Chinese in our country on the last day of 1876 did not exceed 100,000.

Questions may be raised, of course, whether the census and the tabular statement may be relied upon. In this connection a comparison of results for the preceding ten years will be of interest.

According to the census the Chinese population of
1870, was.................................. 62,736
and that of 1860.............................. 34,933

The increase, therefore, was.................... 27,803

The tabular statement for these years is as follows ;—

Year.	Arrivals.	Departures.	Gain.	Loss.
1860............	7,343	2,088	5,255	
1861............	8,424	3,594	4,830	
1862............	8,188	2,795	5,393	
1863............	6,435	2,947	3,488	
1864............	2,696	3,911		1,215
1865............	3,097	2,298	799	
1866............	2,242	3,113		871
1867............	4,794	4,999		205
1868............	11,085	4,209	6,876	
1869............	14,994	4,896	10,098	
	69,298	34,850	36,739	2,291
Gain............				34,448

Taking away from this gain..........	34,448
an estimated number of deaths, say two per cent. a year for six years on an average population of 50,000.............	10,000
the increase for this period as derived from the table, would be.............	24,448

This falls short of the increase as shown by the census something over three thousand, a divergence which is not excessive when it is remembered that a certain number of arrivals for 1870 are counted into the census estimate of that year, while none at all are embraced in the tabular statement. It would appear therefore that the results arrived at by an examination of the census and of the records of the custom house mutually sustain one another and confirm the accuracy of my estimate of the population at the end of 1876.

The course of immigration since 1876, is shown in the following statement published in the *Alta California* newspaper, of San Francisco;—

Year.	Arrivals.	Departures.	Gain.	Loss.
1877............	9,906	7,852	2.054	
1878............	7,418	6,512	906	
1879............	6,544	6,906		362
	23,868	21,270	2,960	362

Gain.......................................	2,598

The number of deaths in these years, at the ratio of two in a hundred, on an estimated population of 100,000, would be................................	6,000
Taking from this, the increase, according the table, we find that since 1876 there has been an actual falling off in our Chinese population	2,598
amounting to............................	3,402

and that we entered upon the year 1880, with no more, probably, than 96,000 or 97,000 Chinamen within our borders.

I shall not pretend to decide with particularity where the 100,000 Chinese, more or less, so enumerated, are resident. According to a table given in the census of 1870, they were then distributed as follows;—

California	48,790
Nevada	3,143
Oregon	3,326
Idaho	4,267
Montana	1,943
Utah	445
Washington	234
Wyoming	143
Other States and Territories	383
	62,674

Something less, then, than four fifths of all the Chinese in the United States, were resident in California in 1870.

If the same proportion held in 1876–80, the number would be about 80,000. I judge, however, that a larger number of Chinese have gone out from California to other portions of our country in recent years, than in those prior to 1870. I have no statistics on the subject, but may mention that Mr. Gibson, from whose book, "The Chinese in America," I have already quoted, writing in 1876, appears to have believed that nearly one-half were resident outside of California[1], and that Mr. Wheeler at about the same date, said:—"The departures inland to "Oregon, Washington Territory, Nevada, Utah, Montana, "Idaho, and the States east of the Rocky Mountains can- "not be less, in my opinion, than 20,000."[2] The latter opinion is sustained perfectly by the census of 1870, but that of Mr. Gibson, while less likely to be accurate, is not to be dismissed as devoid of significance. He has been more intimately associated with the Chinese in California than any other person of our own stock, and must be well acquainted with the avenues of employment sought by them. It is natural, too, that as years pass, and the immigrants become acquainted with other districts than California, they should go out into these districts. We have seen some of them already in 1870 crossing the Sierra Nevada in their progress, and swelling the population of Idaho, Montana and Utah. We have heard of them more lately in the great cities and manufacturing towns of the Eastern States. In estimating the number who have left California for other fields in which to labor, at not less than 25,000, I think I am not far wrong.

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[1] Ch. in Am., p. 17.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1196.

We reach, then, the conclusion that in 1876 the whole number of Chinese in the United States was about 100,000, that this number has not increased since, and that the whole number of Chinese in California has never exceeded probably 75,000.

Reverting now to the excessive estimates of the special pleaders against the Chinese, who appeared before the Congressional commission of 1876, of representatives and senators in Congress and of the committees of Congress, I desire to point out with much emphasis that such misstatements are not to be defended as mere mistakes. We are not dealing with a subject of an indefinite kind in which misconceptions are natural and pardonable. The statistics to which I have appealed are as open to those who spoke in an extravagant way as they have been to me. A grave question was under examination, and it was the duty of each one of the persons whose declarations I have quoted to make no misleading statements. Yet one and all they have been willing to have the country believe that the number of Chinese in our country is from fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent. greater than the actual number.

We may admit, and I most certainly do admit, that the opposition to the Chinese in California and in Congress is more or less perfectly sincere. With some of the gentlemen whose statements I have quoted I am personally acquainted, and I speak with candor only when I say that the earnestness of their convictions has been thoroughly impressed upon my mind. Yet in a public matter of a grave kind we have a right to expect accuracy as well as honesty from the leaders of public opinion, and we cannot but speak in terms of grave condemnation when we do not find it.

It is true also that when we fine a lack of carefulness characterizing the utterances of the men who have made themselves prominent in the anti-Chinese crusade, when dealing with a very important feature of the whole business, we very naturally and very positively distrust their utterances upon other parts of the subject, more particularly those in which divergent opinions are to be expected. It is not to be wondered at that certain members of the Pacific coast communities entertain honest convictions that the presence of the Chinese among them is dangerous to their well being and peace. The region of discussion involved in the question is largely speculative, and facts enough can be readily arrived at which will seem to sustain in a most positive way such convictions. But the advocates of this view are none the less representative men and citizens, and their first duty is to be accurate. When we find that they are not accurate in a material matter, and one in which it is easy to reach the truth, they must not be surprised if those who hold to different opinions upon the general subject are ready to charge them with having allowed the earnestness of their views to overbalance their judgment.

The condemnation to be meted out against them must be considered stronger when we learn that counsel against the Chinese, before the Congressional commission, made no serious effort to prove their statements, that these statements were, denied from the outset, by counsel who appeared for the Chinese, and that the evidence adduced more than sustained the latter. On page 119 of Mr. B. S. Brooks' appendix to his "Opening Statement and "Brief on the Chinese Question," will be found a recapitulation of the census enumerations of 1860 and 1870, showing the total population of Chinese in those years. As I have already referred to these enumerations, I have no occasion to repeat their tenor and significance here. On page 118 of the same document, an estimate, by Mr. Brooks, of the increase after 1870, is printed. He judged then that there might be 120,000 Chinese in all the United States. Mr. Wheeler's table showed that the aggregate in 1876 could not be more than 114,000. The Rev. Mr. Shearer, another witness, submitted a carefully prepared statement of the immigration of Chinese, demonstrating that their whole population in the United States, at the moment, was not more than 100,000.[1]

It may be said that it does not matter greatly whether the Chinese in the United States number 100,000, or 150,000, or 200,000, but I think that it does matter. Three quarters of all of these are probably in California, and we may feel much greater sympathy with the people of California, whether as regards their present disquiet or their anxiety for the future, if the number of Chinese in their State amounts to the higher estimates which have been given to the world. It is a somewhat startling statement that the number of adult Chinese in California "is as great as that of all the voters in the State." The fact is far different, and it should be known to the world.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 513.

I have already shown that the number of citizens in California, in 1870, twenty-one years old and upwards, was 145,802; while the number of Chinese males, twenty-one years old and upwards, was 36,890. In the ten years which have since elapsed, the Chinese in California have increased about fifty per cent., but on the other hand, it is likely that the population at large of the State has increased in an equal measure. Mr. Brooks estimates the actual vote of 1876 at 155,728.[1] If we add fifty per cent. to the Chinese adult population of 1870, we shall have as their whole number in 1876–80 about 55,000, which is very considerably less than "the number of all " the voters in the State."

It will be surprising, as I believe, to the people of the United States, that misstatements so gravely serious in their nature have passed unchallenged in the halls of Congress, and in the country at large. It shows how far a very simple matter can be misunderstood, when on the one side there is concerned a vigorous party representing an active political cry, and on the other a disfranchised class incapable of fighting its own battles. But while it must be admitted that the sentiment of California is very strongly against the Chinese, we have a right to expect that the Eastern States, remembering the traditional policy of the country, will come sooner or later to inquire into all the questions involved in the so-called Chinese problem, and that the misstatements which have been put afloat will receive their just condemnation.

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[1] Br. Ap., p. 131.

PART II.—CHAPTER I.

THE MATERIAL RESULTS OF CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA. RAILROAD BUILDING.

This part of the book exhibits the material advantages which have resulted to California from the labors of Chinamen. The facts recited taken mainly from the evidence before the joint commission. The importance of railroads to California, because of the isolated position of the State and the extent of her territory. Evidence of Gov. Low, Mr. Charles Crocker, Mr. Strobridge, Mr. Colton, and Mr. Evans, showing that the trans-continental and other railroads could not have been built so cheaply and so quickly without Chinese labor, and that the result has been such as to serve the convenience, comfort and opportunities for enterprise of the people of the State, and to promote immigration from the Eastern States and the prosperity of the State.

I propose to indicate in this and the next following chapters what the Chinese in California have done to advance the material interests of the State. I shall adduce first the evidence given by witnesses who testified before the Congressional committee in regard to the assistance rendered by them more particularly in the construction of railroads. Later chapters will show the evidence given before the commission in relation to other departments of their labor; in the reclamation of swamp lands, often called tule-lands from the tall, rush-like, growth by which they are covered; in mining; in agriculture; in fruit growing; in manufacturing enterprises. I shall devote a chapter also to the Chinese as servants.

It would be easy to recite the facts in an ordinary narrative form. My object is not, however, to write out the story in an entertaining way. I wish to carry the conviction to the minds of my readers that my conclusions are just, and I believe that I can do this best by allowing sworn witnesses, citizens of the State of California, interested in the welfare of the commonwealth, and themselves the observers of what they relate, to tell the story.

In this part of my work I shall not even feel called upon to make many comments upon the subject matter of my writing. The witnesses will speak for themselves and I shall reserve argument for the later chapters, in which I shall deal with the merits of objections raised in California against Chinese immigration and with the Californian view generally of the so-called Chinese problem.

It is appropriate to adduce first the evidence offered before the commission in regard to the labors of the Chinese upon the railroads of California, including the great trans-continental line known as the Central Pacific railroad, because these roads form the only great public works which have been constructed in the State, and because their establishment has affected the prosperity of the State and the development of its material interests in a marked degree.

We have to remember in this connection two great considerations, first, the isolated and remote position of California; and second, the extent of her territory and its physical features.

California rests upon the Pacific ocean, but the sea which laves her shores has no connecting strait with the Atlantic until we have traversed the whole extent of the two continents to the southward. The deep sea voyage is a particularly long and difficult one. It is as far by sea from New York to San Francisco as from the former to Hong Kong. It is true that a railway was long since constructed at Panama, and that lines of steamers on the two oceans have enabled passengers to reach California by a quick and easy transit comparatively. Yet this route has been an expensive one and the process of building up a great commonwealth could go forward but slowly so long as immigrants were obliged in great part to traverse it.

California occupies the western side of our continent, but the statement conveys to the mind, when taken by itself, no adequate ideas of the difficulties which meet, or rather did meet, the traveler seeking the land of gold by the overland way. Our settlements still remain few and inconsiderable when the vast tract west of the Missouri is entered open. It was an unknown region thirty years ago. And so soon as the wayfarer leaves the fertile valleys of the Platte and begins the ascent of the Rocky mountains, how uninviting and inhospitable is the country. The plains, as they are called, sweep away in interminable distances, covered by scanty vegetation, until at the summit we enter upon a vast district which is arid always, which in winter is swept over by arctic winds, and further west becomes almost a desert. The crowning danger however in the olden time as it is the centre of interest now, was the great snow capped line of the Sierra Nevada, a boundary within sight of the happy land beyond, which frequently proved impassable to the weary and foot worn adventurer.

From the outset the enterprising population of California looked forward to the time when the iron horse should surmount those mountain ranges, afford them the opportunity to return quickly to their eastern homes, and afford others the opportunity to seek the pleasant places of which so much was related, in an easier way than those who had preceded. These opportunities came sooner than they could have expected and the Chinese, so contemned and despised in that whole region, were largely instrumental in bringing about the result.

A transcontinental railway was necessary then for the comfort of Californians and for the progress of the State. Their land was too isolated, too remote, and too difficult of access to receive any great increase of population in its absence. State after state has been admitted into the union of states since the annexation of California. Many of these have outstripped her in growth. With all her wonderful resources she was too heavily handicapped to make great progress, and we see her to-day with barely a million of population.

And while a transcontinental line was needed primarily for her development, having this she must still construct local railroads or leave a large part of her territory practically inaccessible. California lacks water communication, and her physical features are such that transportation is difficult by any other means than railways. It is 600 miles from her southern boundary to the State of Oregon. Mountain range after mountain range is piled up along the Pacific coast. A great arid valley intervenes between it and the Sierra Nevada. But one considerable stream breaks through from the great valley to the sea. Branches of this stream fall in, one from the northern part of the valley and one from the the southern, but neither is of magnitude and both are affected by the alternate seasons of rain and drouth which prevail, so as to be less satisfactory for purposes of transportation. From the valleys which lie between the parallel ranges of the coast mountains, and from the great valley, access to the sea is difficult, and in the absence of railways, Californian agriculture would remain only a great possibility of the future.

Into such a region an enterprising population would, of course, introduce railways, but how soon and how rapidly would depend upon a variety of considerations, and among these the supply of labor would be one of much concern. It remains now for the witnesses before the Congressional committee to tell of the solution of many difficulties afforded by the presence of large numbers of Chinese ready and able to do such work.

Frederick F. Low, former member of Congress, governor, and minister to China, was the first of all the witnesses examined before the committee. He was an early settler in California, and represents in a high degree, its best enterprise and intelligence. At page 75 of the evidence he is represented as testifying;—

" I should say that up to the present time, Chinese " labor has been of material advantage to the State, look- " ing at it in dollars and cents, by reason of our isolation. " The laboring classes of the Eastern States, and of Eu- " rope could not get here; they had not the means; the " inconvenience and expense of getting here were so great " that they could not come; but with the completion of " the railroad, and with the surging of the tide westward, " coming by easy steps, from this time forward, there " would probably be sufficient labor to replace Chinese " that will go."

Again, in response to questions by the chairman of the committee, senator Morton;—

" Q. I will ask the governor what proportion of labor " in constructing these railroads has been performed by " Chinese? A. I should think on the Central Pacific " railroad, from my knowledge of it, four-fifths of the " labor for the grading was performed by the Chinese; " that is, from here to Ogden.

"Q. In regard to public works in the State, of every " description, what proportion of them have been con- " structed by Chinese labor? A. We have very few " public works.

" Q. I suppose railroads include most of them. A. " Railroads include most of them.

"Q. You have irrigating canals, ditches, etc? A. We " have, but I have not been on the ground, and it is " very difficult to judge from hearsay testimony.

" Q. I am, of course, asking your general opinion? " A. For making levees, and digging ditches, and that " sort of work I think much the larger proportion of it is " performed by Chinese, because it is useful labor, and " can be commanded in any quantity easily at any time.

" Q. In the reclaiming of swamp-lands, the tule-" lands? A. In the building of levees, much the larger " proportion is done by the Chinese, for two reasons; " first, the labor is cheaper, and secondly, it is an un-" healthy sort of work, because it is in malarious districts, " and the Chinese seem to be constituted something like " the negro; they are not affected by malaria as anglo-" saxons are.

" Q. If Chinese had not come here could white labor " have been readily procured to construct these works " you speak of? A. It would have taken a much " longer time. It would have been delayed. They " could not have got the labor.

" Q. Would it have increased the expense? A. Very " much. If it will not be irrelevant I will state that I " was one of the commissioners when the Pacific rail-" road was in the course of construction on this side of " the Sierra. I had occasion to go upon the road to " examine and report upon its construction, prior to put-" ting on the superstructure and while they were grading. " I was on the road when they introduced Chinese labor. " They first started with white labor and they came to a " stand-still. They could not get enough to prosecute " the work. They had a foreman named Strobridge, a " smart, pushing Irishman. Mr. Crocker told me, not " once, but half a dozen times, that he suggested to this " foreman that they must come to Chinese. He said, 'I

“ ‘will not boss Chinese. I will not be responsible for the “ ‘work done on the road by Chinese labor, because you “ ‘compute a certain number of men, and there is a responsibility “ ‘in producing a certain amount of work with “ ‘them.’ They were offering then, if I recollect rightly, “ $45 a month and board for white labor. That would “ be more than a dollar and a half a day, twenty-six “ working days in the month. The thing came practically “ to a stand-still, and finally Strobridge consented “ that they should put on Chinese enough to fill the “ dump-carts, and that Chinamen should hold the drills, “ while white men should drive the horses and strike the “ drills. He would not permit a Chinaman to strike. “ He said they did not know how. They started “ in that way. I made frequent visits upon the road. “ I saw the progress that was being made in the employment “ of Chinese, and talked with Strobridge about “ it. In less than six months, I think, they had the “ Chinese doing everything; not only filling the carts “ but driving the horses, and Strobridge told me that, “ taken altogether, the Chinese did 80 per cent. as much “ as the whites. They paid the Chinese $31 a month, “ and they boarded themselves. To the white laborers “ they professed to pay, and did pay, $45 a month and “ board, which amounted, they considered, to two dollars “ a day.

“ By senator Sargent. Q. Suppose that instead of “ paying $45 they paid $50? I myself was paying $65 “ at that time. A. Crocker said there was not sufficient “ labor in the country; that he could not get it.”

Mr. Charles Crocker, well known throughout the country as one of the five proprietors of the Central Pacific railroad gave the following evidence;—[1]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 666.

" Q. How long have you been in the State? A. I " have been here twenty-six years.

" Q. What has been your business? A. For the " last fifteen or sixteen years I have been building rail- " roads.

" Q. Did you commence the construction of the Cen- " tral Pacific with white or Chinese labor? A. We " commenced with white labor.

" Q. How long did you continue it? A. We never " discontinued it; we have always employed white labor.

" Q. I mean how long did you continue with that kind " of labor extensively? A. We continued about a year " and a half, when we found we could not get sufficient " labor to progress with the road as fast as was necessary, " and felt driven to the experiment of trying Chinese " labor. I believe that all our people were prejudiced " against Chinese labor, and that there was a disposition " not to employ them.

" Q. You mean that the railroad people were preju- " diced? A. Yes, sir; especially Mr. Strobridge and " myself, who had charge of the construction, more par- " ticularly. I had charge of the construction, and Mr. Stro- " bridge was under me as superintendent. He thought " that the Chinese would not answer, considering what " they eat, and other things, and from what he had seen " of them; he did not think they were fit laborers; he " did not think they would build a railroad. We adver- " tised very thoroughly, and sent circulars to every post- " office in the State, inviting white labor, and offering large " prices for that class of labor, but we failed to get over " 800 men. Our force never went much above 800 white " laborers, with the shovel and pick, and after pay day it " would run down to 600 or 700; then before the next " pay day it would get up to 800 men again, but we could " not increase beyond that amount. Then we were com-

" pelled to try Chinese labor, and we tried them on the " light work, thinking they would not do for heavy work. " Gradually we found that they worked well there, and as " our forces spread out and we began to occupy more " ground, and felt more in a hurry, we put them into the " softer cuts, and finally into the rock cuts. Wherever we " put them we found them good, and they worked them- " selves into our favor to such an extent that if we found " we were in a hurry for a job of work, it was better to " put on Chinese at once. Previous to that we had " always put on white men; and to-day, if I had a big " job of work that I wanted to get through quickly, and " had a limited time to do it in, I should take Chinese " labor to do it with, because of its greater reliability and " steadiness, and their aptitude and capacity for hard " work.

" Q. What are their powers of endurance? A. They " are equal to the best white men. We tested that in the " summit tunnel, which is in the very hardest granite. " We had a shaft down in the centre. We were cutting " both ways from the bottom of that shaft. The com- " pany were in a very great hurry for that tunnel, as it " was the key to the position across the mountains, and " they urged me to get the very best Cornish miners and " put them into the tunnel so as to hurry it, and we did " so. We went to Virginia City and got some Cornish " miners out of those mines, and paid them extra wages. " We put them into one side of the shaft, the heading " leading from one side, and we had Chinamen on the " other side. We measured the work every Sunday " morning, and the Chinamen, without fail, always out- " measured the Cornish miners; that is to say they would " cut more rock in a week than the Cornish miners, and " it was hard work, steady pounding on the rock, bone- " labor. The Chinese were skilled in using the hammer

" and drill, and they proved themselves equal to the very " best Cornish miners in that work. They are very trusty, " they are very intelligent, and they live up to their contracts."

Mr. James Strobridge, the superintendent of construction mentioned in the testimony of Mr. Low and Mr. Crocker, gave the following evidence;—[1]

" Q. You had charge of the work, did you not, pretty " much, of the whole Central Pacific railroad? A. I " was superintendent of construction.

" Q. That gave you the supervision of all the labor " on the road? A. Yes, sir.

" Q. How did you commence that road? A. We " commenced it with white labor.

" Q. Did you change to any other? A. Yes, we " changed to Chinamen. I advertised extensively for men, " wanted several thousand, and was never able to get over " 700 or 800 men at one time. We increased finally to " 10,000. A large number of men would go on the work " under these advertisements, but they were unsteady " men, unreliable; some of them would stay a few days, " and some would not go to work at all. Some would " stay until pay day, get a little money, get drunk and " clear out. Finally we resorted to Chinamen. I was " very much prejudiced against Chinese labor. I did not " believe we could make a success of it. I believe Chinese labor in this country on that kind of work, never " had been made a success until we put them on there; " but we did make a success of them. We worked a " great many of them, and built the road virtually with " Chinamen, though the white labor increased very much " after introducing Chinese labor. We made foremen of " the most intelligent of the white men, teamsters and " hostlers. We increased, I suppose, to 2,000 or 2,500

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im. pp. 723.

" white men. At that time we were working fully 10,000 " Chinamen.

" Q. Then you changed your views as to the Chinese " as laborers? A. very much.

" Q. How did you find them to compare in that " heavy work on the Sierra Nevada, tunnels, deep cuts " and rock-works, with the white labor you had? A. " They were equal to the white men.

" Q. They were equal to them? A. Yes.

" Q. You had tests occasionally made there, as I read " at the time in the newspapers, between white labor and " Chinese. A. Yes.

" Q. Who generally came out ahead? A. When " they were working on a drift, as they sometimes did, " if there was any difference it was with the white men; " but the key of the situation was the summit tunnel, " which was very hard rock, and we undertook to stock " that with the best of white men. We considered them " to be at that time superior to Chinamen, but we were " unable to keep the work filled with white men, although we only worked eight hours. We worked in eight " hour shifts, and as we could not keep the work favorable " we put in a gang of Chinamen. Finally, before the " work was half done, perhaps, I do not recollect at what " stage, the Chinamen had possession of the whole work. " At last the white men swore they would not work with " Chinamen anyhow.

" Q. In that particular tunnel, or all along? A. In " that particular tunnel, not on the other work. We always had gangs of white men. We employed all the " white men we could get so long as they would work.

" Q. Would you always give white men labor when " asked for it? A. I do not think there was ever a " white man turned away for want of a place, to my " knowledge."

Mr. David D. Colton testified as follows;—[1]

"Q. You are acquainted with the Southern Pacific "railroad? A. I am.

"Q. Are you the vice-president or the president of the "company? A. At this time I am the vice-president.

"Q. You have constructed it by Chinese labor I be-"lieve? A. Not altogether.

"Q. I mean principally? A. A portion of it; the heads "of the construction departments were white laborers.

"Q. The construction of this road gave employment "to a great many white men? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. You had no government subsidy I believe, in aid "of the construction? A. No, sir; excepting the land "subsidy.

"Q. What is the length of the road from Lathrop? "A. From Lathrop, or rather from Goshen, between "four and five hundred miles of the Southern Pacific "line proper has been constructed.

"Q. A good part of it through a farming country? "A. A great portion of it.

"Q. It has opened up that vast country for settle-"ment? A. It has.

"Q. What class of people are and have been settling "there since the road was built? A. What you might "term an average class of the immigrants who settle up "all our new Territories and States.

"Q. White immigrants? A. Pretty much all white. "There are very few of any other kind. They are mostly "from the Western States; some are Europeans.

"Q. Could you have constructed that road without "Chinese labor? A. I do not think it could have been "constructed so quickly, and with anything like the same "amount of certainty as to what we were going to accom-"plish in the same length of time.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im. p. 599.

"Q. You had several thousand laborers on the road?
"A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Could you have obtained that number of white "laborers? A. I think not.

"Q. Has it not been your experience since your con- "nection with the Central and Southern Pacific railroads "that you could not obtain white labor? A. We cer- "tainly could not in that number.

"Q. What has been the effect of the construction of "these railroads upon the settlement and building up of "the country? A. From my standpoint I think it has "done a great deal for this State and coast. It has been "the means of opening up thousands of acres of land "that would otherwise have lain vacant for a long time "to come.

"Q. Have the settlements followed the railroads? A. "Yes, sir; and constantly increasing. Our railroad con- "struction is the reverse in this country from what it is "in any other. They are built in other countries to take "people out. Here we build a railroad so that people "may go into the wilderness and settle it up.

"Q. The railroad is the pioneer? A. Yes, sir. "Many districts where there were 25 and 30 miles be- "tween each settlement, or farm house, are now being "settled up. Take the San Joaquin Valley railroad com- "pared with three or four years ago. One car would "then go up the valley. I have been on the train when "there would be but two or three passengers for the last "25 or 30 miles of the road. Now it takes four cars to "do that business.

"Q. What has been the effect upon the prosperity of "the State of the construction of lateral roads? A. I "think most favorable in every way. Lateral roads by "themselves, would not be profitable to railroad propri- "etors, but they would be of great advantage to the

" country they would open up. I think as a rule they " have advanced the value of lands from 200 to 1000 per " cent. Much of the land in the Salinas valley, for in- " stance, was offered to us at $2 an acre, for which they " are charging now $25 and $35 an acre since the road " was built through that country.

" Q. What is the capacity of Chinese and their in- " clination to do hard work? A. I have never placed " them in a position where they did not, to use a com- " mon expression, fill the bill.

" Q. Did you see the work done on the Southern Pa- " cific railroad after it was completed? A. Yes, sir.

" Q. Do you know what kind of men were employed " there? A. I have stated that 75 or 80 per cent. of " our construction force were Chinamen. I think it is " proper for me to say here, that so far as my knowledge " goes there was never a white laborer who wanted work " who was refused.

" Q. What wages did you pay them; the same as you " paid the Chinamen? A. No, sir; we paid them as a " rule twice what we paid the Chinamen.

" Q. You paid them twice as much! Did they do " twice as much work? A. No, sir; but they did " teaming and certain classes of work. I have never " seen a Chinaman who could drive a team much. " Teamsters and all that department we give to white " men. When we are building a bridge, or trestle work, " it is in the hands of white laborers, and all the labor " done about it, outside of carpenter work, is given to " white laborers."

Mr. West Evans gave the following evidence;—[1]

" Q. Have you been extensively engaged in building " railroads? A. Somewhat extensively.

" Q. What labor have you used on your works gen-

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 720.

" erally? A. In the manufacture of railroad-ties I have " used white labor; in building railroads I use mostly " Chinese labor.

" Q. What kind of labor is most satisfactory to you? " A. Chinamen give us better satisfaction generally.

" Q. In railroading? A. Yes, sir; in railroad building.

" Q. How extensively have you been engaged in getting out railroad-ties? A. I have been in the business ever since the Pacific railroad was started. I " think that was in 1863.

" Q. Supplying that company and others? A. Yes, " sir.

" Q. How many white men do you employ in your " busiest time? A. Probably from 400 to 500.

" Q. Are you the West Evans who advertised extensively in a newspaper a year or two ago, for white " laborers? A. Yes, sir.

" Q. What success did you meet with. A. I got " very few.

" Q. How many did you advertise for? A. I " wanted a hundred.

" Q. How many did you get? A. Twenty or thirty, " I guess. I sent more than a hundred up to the work, " but they would not work when they got there.

" Q. For what reason? A. They thought it was too " hard work.

" Q. How many did you retain? A. From 20 to " 30; possibly 30.

" Q. Did they work by contract or stated wages? " A. They worked in building the railroad by the " month, and in making ties they worked by the piece.

" Q. Which road was that? A. The Mendocino road.

" Q. Do you think there is a surplus of white labor-

" ers in the State? A. I have not been able to employ " it. I want men now and cannot get them.

" Q. What wages do you pay men for labor? A. In " building the road we started men in on $40 a month " and board. If a man was found to be worth more, we " paid it to him.

" Q. Do you think the Chinese have been a benefit " to the State? A. I think so.

" Q. Greatly so? A. I do not see how we could do " the work we have done, here, without them; at least I " have done work that would not have been done if it had " not been for Chinamen, work that could not have been " done without them.

" Q. White men can do any work that the Chinamen " could do? A. Oh, yes; but, understand me, I tried " to get white men to do this work and failed."

PART II.—CHAPTER II.

THE MATERIAL RESULTS OF CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA. RECLAMATION OF SWAMP LANDS.

Description of the swamp and overflowed lands of California. Their area, 5,000,000 acres. Their fertility and value. The wheat production of the State. The climate favorable to wheat production. Evidence of Judge Heydenfeldt and Mr. Roberts regarding labors of Chinese in reclamation works. Laws of the State providing for such enterprises. Legislation to protect farming lands against results of hydraulic mining.

The swamp lands of California are of two kinds, those which are over-flowed by the tide, and those which are subject to inundation by the winter freshets. The former are situated near the bay of San Francisco and upon the lower course of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. The latter are found higher up on those streams, and upon their affluents and near the Tulare lake.

These lands are very extensive, and they lie often in bodies of hundreds of thousand of acres. A competent authority estimates their area at not less than 5,000,000 of acres.[1] Those situated nearer to the bay of San Francisco have a darker soil, are more swampy, and appear to be more suitable for the culture of potatoes, sweet potatoes, onions and root crops generally. Those higher up are dry for six months in the year, and have a firm rich soil, which is eminently suitable for the growing of wheat and other cereals. All of them are rich as alluvial soils only can be, and practically inexhaustible. Forty bushels of wheat to the acre is said to be an ordinary yield on these lands. When reclaimed they prove by far the best agricultural lands in the State for the reason that they do not suffer from the drouth so much as the uplands, and because they are more fertile. Irrigation can be introduced with ease, as the lower stretches are always below the levels of the streams higher up.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 55.

The world is familiar with the wonderful cultivation of wheat in California. The State already ranks among the leading wheat producing States of the Union. In 1876, however, but 5,500,000 acres of land had been brought into cultivation of all kinds. Much of this acreage is subject to droughts, and to total failures of the crops. No such disaster can happen to reclaimed swamp lands, or to speak more accurately, lands subject to overflow. It is entirely certain that California will hereafter produce far more wheat than any other State in the Union, and that the expense of production, by reason of the fertility of the soil, and favorable conditions of the climate, will be much less than elsewhere. No rain falls during the harvesting season, and grain may be stacked in the open field or left in great piles uncovered, without danger. The advantages to the farmer of this security, and of similar security in the shipment of his produce, must count for a great deal. The very features of the climate of California, the alternate seasons of rain and drought, which occasion inundations in the winter, and leave the streams to choke up with the sands rolled down from the mountains in summer, are particularly favorable to the growth of wheat and to many other branches of agriculture. The problem for California is, largely, to work out the means by which higher lands may be irrigated and lower lands protected from overflow. There is no reason to doubt that the necessary measures will be taken, and that the result will be to make California, whose territory is nearly as extensive as that of France, one of the wealthiest of the commonwealth of States.

The witnesses before the Congressional commisson who spoke more particularly of the reclamation of swamp lands were Solomon Heydenfeldt and George D. Roberts. The former had been associate justice of the Supreme Court of California, and for some time counsel for a reclamation association, called the Tide Land Reclamation Company. The latter was a large owner of such lands, and had been actively engaged in reclamations.

Mr. Heydenfeldt testified as folllows ;—[1]

"Q. It was considered a very hazardous thing to " undertake the reclamation of these lands ? A. Very.

"Q. Capital was diffident about taking hold of it ? " A. Very ; and is yet.

"Q. There has been a large area of these land re- " claimed and brought into market ? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. What labor has been used to do that ? A. Chinese " labor.

"Q. Could they get white labor to do that work ? " A. I imagine not. I do not see where it could have " been obtained. I do not think our white laborers " would care to undertake it. They are generally in " favor of undertaking something a good deal easier than " that, and something that pays better.

"Q. There are contractors among them ? A. There " are contractors among them for large works such as re- " clamation, &c. That I am familiar with. They show " a great deal of executive ability. A contractor will " undertake, for instance, to build a levee, and furnish so " many hands, keep them employed, &c., and engage to " do work in a certain time. In the management and " conduct of business Chinamen show a great deal of " executive ability."

Mr. Roberts' testimony was as follows ;—[2]

"Q. You are the president, manager, or main officer of " the Tide Land Reclamation Company? A. Yes, sir.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 504.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 436.

" Q. How long have you been a resident of this State?
" A. I arrived here in 1850.

" Q. You have been engaged in business enterprises " since that time to develop the interests of this coast, I " believe? A. Always.

" Q. How much tule land has your company re- " claimed? A. The tide land company proper started " in with 120,000 acres. They have been reclaiming por- " tions of it, but not on a large scale until recently. I sup- " pose we have partially reclaimed 30,000 or 40,000 acres.

" Q. Will you explain to the commission what you " mean by tule lands? A. We call the overflowed " lands forming the delta of the Sacramento and San " Joaquin rivers, tule lands, and also lands on the margins " of the rivers farther up.

" Q. What do you mean by the reclamation of tule " lands, what kind of work is it? A. Building dikes, " gates and ditches, preventing the overflow.

" Q. What species of labor have you been employ- " ing? A. Generally Chinamen.

" Q. How do you employ these Chinamen? A. " Generally by contract. In building the dikes, we con- " tract by the yard, so much a yard. We go to some of " the Chinese merchants or business men, and tell them " we want to give a contract for a certain number of " miles of levee. They will contract, then, sometimes in " large, sometimes in small bodies of land. Sometimes " the contracts are for five, six, seven, eight hundred or " a thousand yards, and sometimes less, with one individ- " ual, as the case may be. We pay so much a yard, and " measure the work after it is done, and they receive " their pay.

"Q. Do they generally perform their part of the work " faithfully? A. We have had very little difficulty with " them. The work is generally very satisfactory.

" Q. Could you reclaim these lands with white labor?

" A. Not successfully at this time. I do not think " that we could get the white men to do the work. It " is a class of work that white men do not like. We " have tried them to a certain extent. The special ad- " vantage of Chinese labor in work of that kind is owing " to the contract system. They form little communities " among themselves, forty or fifty or a hundred, and they " are jointly interested in the contract. We could not " get white men to do that. They would not be harmo- " nious and agree among themselves, but the Chinese form " little families among themselves, do their own cooking, " live in little camps together, and the work is staked off " for them separately. We first give a large contract to " one or two Chinamen, and they sublet it in smaller " contracts; that is the general system. White labor " could not be worked in that way at all.

" Q. Are those lands entirely waste? A. Entirely " waste; worth nothing at all; overflowed by high tides, " and grown up with weeds and useless; entirely useless.

" Q. What do these lands cost you in that condition? " A. Originally they cost very little; that is to the orig- " inal locators they cost nothing. The State gave them " to the settlers, or people who wished to locate them, " which is about the same thing. We paid nominally a " dollar an acre to the State, and when it is reclaimed " that dollar is credited to us and we get it back. Of " course the lands changed hands before they came into " the hands of the parties who reclaimed them.

" Q. Before you did anything toward reclaiming " them, what did they probably cost your company? A. " I bought a large amount of these lands myself. I at " one time owned a quarter of a million of acres, and " then formed a tide-land company or association. I " paid all the way from two to three dollars an acre,

" although in some cases I got it for half a dollar an acre. " I had to pay a dollar to the State besides.

" Q. What is the average cost of reclamation an " acre? A. We are reclaiming about forty thousand " acres at six or seven dollars an acre, it being a large " tract, but we have some on Grand Island upon which " I suppose that we have spent $25 an acre. It depends " on the size of the piece used and the difficulties to be " overcome.

" Q. What is the land worth per acre after its recla- " mation? A. That depends on its locality. There is " a difference in value. It is worth from $20 an acre up " to $100 probably. We paid for four or five thousand " acres a day or two ago, $25 an acre.

" Q. Then perhaps there is an average of $75 an " acre? A. After it is thoroughly reclaimed. There " have been a great many failures in reclamation, from " faults in the construction of the levees; that they were " too small.

" Q. They (the Chinese) have added then, materially " to the wealth of California, in your opinion? A. In " my opinion the aggregate product of the wealth pro- " duced by Chinamen in this State is equal to our mines, " including the mines of Nevada and Dakota. Probably " they produce, sixty, eighty or ninety millions a year in " wealth."

The evidence thus adduced touches this great subject in the most imperfect way. In fact the reclamation of swamp lands was in its earliest stages when the commission sat. A great deal of work of the sort has been done since. Writing at a distance from California and without access to statistical or other detailed information, I am not able to state what has been done. I know, however, that this branch of enterprise is enlisting the attention of farmers and capitalists in a marked degree, and that the

Legislature of California has passed laws intended to make reclamation of large bodies of land owned by many proprietors, more easy. These laws provide for the creation of reclamation districts, for the choice of trustees, for the issue of bonds and for the distribution of charges among the proprietors. Such enterprises have been made more difficult by the washing down of the mountain sides for gold, the debris being precipitated upon the lower country, choking the streams, and preventing them from carrying off in some instances even the normal flow of water. The Legislature has at the moment under consideration the measures necessary to check this evil. It is well known that the owners of lands subject to overflow have been active in urging legislation, and this fact shows how earnest they are and how highly they esteem the property in question.

I cannot do better than close this chapter by quoting from the opening argument of Mr. Brooks before the Congressional commission, the following paragraph ;—

" I asked a former Surveyor General of this State to " estimate the increase in the value of the property of " this State created by Chinese labor in the building of " railroads, and in reclaiming tule-lands alone, and " the amount he gave me is $289,700,000. That is the " wealth which a hundred thousand Chinese have added " to California. It is wealth owned, held and enjoyed by " white men, and not Chinamen. The Chinamen do not " carry it away with them ; they could not even if they " wished to do so."

PART II.—CHAPTER III.

THE MATERIAL RESULTS OF CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA. MINING.

The Chinese have met many difficulties in mining. The foreign-miners tax. Discrimination against them. Abuse of the law by tax-collectors. Hostility of the mining class at large. Outrages perpetrated upon them. Report of a committee of the Legislature of California in 1862. Evidence of Mr. Colton, Mr. Speer, Mr. Clarke and Mr. Degroot regarding the work done by the Chinese in the mines, and their efficiency as miners. Aggregate production of precious metals by the Chinese, and advantages to the State and country.

It is to be said at the outset that the Chinese who have been disposed to work as miners in California have been subjected to many disabilities. These have been enforced in part by legislation of a persistently hostile character, and in part have resulted from the hostility and lawlessness of the mining class at large.

An Act passed May 4th, 1852, provided that a license tax of $3 a month should be levied upon foreigners working in placer and quartz mining, "inasmuch as they are "not liable to the same duties as American citizens "whilst they enjoy the same privileges."[1] It also provided that companies employing foreigners should pay the tax and that foreigners not paying the license could not sue or defend in the courts.

This tax was raised by the Act of March 30th, 1853, to $4 a month, and by an amendatory Act of May 13th, 1854, it was made applicable "to persons not being citi-"zens of the United States, or who shall not have de-"clared their intention to become such."

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[1] Br. of Leg., etc., p. 10, *et seq.*

As the Chinese alone of all foreigners were not permitted to declare their intention to become citizens the burdens imposed by these laws were thrown upon them.

On the 30th of April, 1855, an Act was passed fixing the rate of the foreign-miners tax at $4 a month, as to all foreigners "eligible to become citizens of the United "States," and as to all foreigners "ineligible to become "citizens of the United States," it was further provided that for each successive year it should be augmented at the rate of $2 a month.

Mr. Brooks well remarks that "as in a few years no "human industry could pay the tax imposed by this law, "it is manifest that the object was not to impose a tax, "but, under the pretense of taxation, to drive the objects "of it—the Chinese—from the State."

This Act was repealed in 1856, but the tax appears to have been continued at the rate of $4 a month, probably by re-enactment of the law of 1853.[1]

On the 17th of May, 1861, another law was passed which is quoted in Mr. Loomis' testimony before the Congressional commission, as follows;—[2] "No person, "unless he is a citizen of the United States, or shall "have declared his intention to become such, (California Indians excepted,) shall be allowed to take or extract gold, silver or other metals from the mines of "this State, or hold a mining claim therein, unless he "shall have a license therefor of $4 a month."

It is stated in Mr. Loomis' testimony that this Act was declared unconstitutional, but that it was enforced for a series of years, until 1871 or 1872.

Such laws honestly administered would be sufficiently burdensome, but it would appear that grave abuses attended the collection of the tax. Mr. Gibson quotes from the *Nevada Journal* as follows;—[1] "There is a species of "semi-legalized robbery perpetrated upon the Chinese. "Many of the collectors are gentlemen in every sense of "the word, but there are others who take advantage of "their position to extort the last dollar from the poverty-"stricken Chinese. They date licenses back, exact pay in "some instances for extra trouble in hunting up the terri-"fied and flying Chinamen, and, by various devices, fatten "themselves upon the spoils thus obtained. The com-"plaints of the injured and oppressed find no open ear, for "is it not declared by the Supreme Court, the highest "tribunal in the land, that their oaths are not to be re-"garded? Of what avail are their complaints, uttered "with the solemnity of an oath? Under this state of "things the life of a Chinaman in California is one of "hardship and oppression."

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[1] Ch. in Am., p. 239.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 477.

Mr. Gibson gives another newspaper item, but does not state from what journal;—[2] "A foreign-miners tax col-"lector may be a good man, and be honest and lenient, "but his commission does not hinder him from being "the opposite; it really tends to make him so. He may "exercise fiendish cruelty, and plead the necessity of "doing his duty. 'I was sorry to have to stab the poor "'fellow; but the law makes it necessary to collect the "'tax; and that's where I get my profit.' 'He was run-"'ning away and I shot to stop him. I didn't think it "'would hit.' 'I took all the dust he had. There were "'seven of them besides and they didn't pay me last "'month.'"

It was a matter of certainty that abuses such as those indicated would take place and would press hardly upon Chinese miners. It cannot be denied that there was much lawlessness in the early days of California in the mining districts, and a very lax administration of regulations intended to secure order and to defend the rights of individuals. Officers to collect the tax would be chosen often from the very class disposed to oppress them, and the facility with which such a purpose could be carried out, would lead unscrupulous persons to seek the positions. The Chinamen strange to the country, unacquainted with its laws, not familiar even with its language, timid by nature, would submit to extortion without an attempt to secure redress.

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[1] Ch. in Am., p. 236.

[2] Ch. in Am., p. 235.

While I am writing, some remarks of Mr. Speer, the author of "China and the United States," fall under my notice. He says ;—[1] "It was the saddest feature of the " terrible trials of the Chinese that so many of them were " inflicted in the name of the law. The license law of the " State subjected all foreigners not eligible to citizenship, " to a monthly tax of four dollars. This was applied by " the tax collectors solely to the case of the Chinese, and " many of them ranged continually over the mining dis- " districts equipped with blank licenses. They often " obliged the Chinese in camp to pay the mining tax, " though they might not be engaged in mining, and were " traders in goods, or engaged in other work, or transient " visitors, or even sometimes though they were invalids, " who were disabled by fever or rheumatism or accidents. " They frequently came back before the month was out, " or one would follow another giving fictitious receipts. " If the men refused to pay, they struck, stabbed or shot " them; perhaps tied them to a tree and whipped them; " perhaps drove them on foot with a horsewhip, the col- " lector riding behind, lashing them as they ran, to some " town where they could exercise other compulsory meas- " ures. A tax collector in the mountains once related to " a company of persons in my hearing, in great glee, how " he had so run some Chinamen on a dark night, when

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[1] Ch. and the U. S., p. 575.

"the ground was covered with snow, in which they often "fell down, he yelling and lashing them from his horse. "The collectors were often followed by cormorants to "whom they sold for a trifle, the property of Chinamen "which they had forfeited for non-payment, and when "there were none so to purchase, these officials some-"times, in mere wantonness, destroyed bedding, boots and "other articles."

The grievous wrongs to which the Chinese in the mines were subjected by individuals not officers of the law, will be indicated by the following further extract from the same chapter of Mr. Speer's book.

"A company of Chinese had purchased at a large sum "some claims covering the bed of a river, and undertaken "to turn the stream, in order to reach the gold deposited "there, as is often done by Americans. A quiet little "settlement was formed on the bank, and two firms of "Chinese merchants set up stores there. A large amount "of money was expended for lumber and other necessary "articles. The work was successful, the Chinese began "to reap the reward of their toil and outlay.

"One dark night a band of seven armed white men "suddenly appeared in the camp. Attacking the unsus-"pecting Chinese with unearthly yells and firing their "pistols among them, they put them to flight and chased "them to some distance from the spot. They proceeded "to seize the gold that could be found. They then en-"tered the stores and plundered them of money and such "articles as were of any use to them, to the value of two "thousand dollars. To end the work they set fire to the "buildings, and by the light thus made, carried their "plunder to the opposite side of the river, where they "composedly sat themselves down as proprietors of the "the whole claim by right of possession.

"Some friends of the Chinese brought suit against "these scoundrels before a neighboring justice for the "restoration of the property. In defence the men set up "a remarkable plea. It was simply this, that they "thought the Chinese could not work the claim to so "good avantage as they could; and what is still more "remarkable, their friend, the justice, gave a decision in "their favor on the ground of this plea! The friends of "the Chinese next tried to bring an action against these "men at the county-seat for larceny and incendiarism. "But though some Americans in the vicinity of the place "had seen the fire, and the carrying of the goods across "the river, none were found willing or able to identify "the robbers. The Chinesse who knew them were not "permitted, according to law, to bear witness against "white men. The result was that the perpetrators of "these crimes went free and remained in possession of "the property which they had so summarily made their "own. The industrious Chinamen beggared and in debt "were forced to leave the place."

The recitals thus given are, no doubt, of an extreme character. I should be the last person to forget that among the Americans who worked in the placer mines of California, in earlier and later times, were men of excellent origin, and that they took measures, as a rule, which served the interests of justice. I do not doubt that Chinamen found often chivalric defenders stepping forward for their protection. I would not for a moment suppose that all, or even a considerable portion of the tax collectors were inhuman or dishonest. Yet, men are largely what their surroundings tend to make them, and the evidence of the injustice and outrages to which the Chinese were subjected, is too strong to be doubted. Such testimony, in the form of contemporaneous newspaper statements, have been gathered together for the period from 1855 to 1876, by Mr. B. S.

Brooks,[1] The measure of the wrongs perpetrated upon them in early days will be indicated sufficiently for my present purpose, by the following extract from the report of a committee of the two Houses of the California Legislature, dated March 11th, 1862.[2] It bears the signature of R. F. Perkins, chairman of the Senate committee, O. Harvey and G. K. Porter, senators; John E. Benton, chairman Assembly committee, and G. W. Seaton and W. W. Battles, members of the Assembly;—

"*Your committee were furnished with a list of eighty-*"*eight Chinamen, who are known to have been murdered* "*by white people, eleven of which number are known to have* "*been murdered by collectors of the foreign-miners license* "*tax, sworn officers of the law. But two of the murderers* "*have been convicted and hanged. Generally they have* "*been allowed to escape without the slightest punishment.*

"*The above number of Chinese who have been robbed* "*and murdered, comprise probably a very small proportion* "*of those who have been murdered; but they are all which* "*the records of the different companies or societies in this* "*city show. It is a well known fact that there has been* "*a wholesale system of wrong and outrage practiced upon* "*the Chinese population of this State, which would dis-*"*grace the most barbarous nation upon earth.*"

I know nothing of the persons who formed this committee; I suppose that they were fair representatives of the earlier legislators of the State, men who had been more or less trained in the Eastern States, and had not learned the abject ways of later California politicians. At any rate, their report seems to have been signed by all the members of the committee, and it stands uncontradicted to this day. The men of California must prove it false before they claim to appear before the world with clean hands in this matter of Chinese immigration.

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[1] Op. St. and Br., p. 1–72.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1192.

I shall have more to say about outrages upon the Chinese, in later chapters. For the moment, I have gone far enough to indicate that they met many discouragements in mining enterprises, and that it is almost a matter for surprise that they shouid have made any efforts in this direction.

The apitude of the Chinese as miners is shown in the following evidence.

Mr. D. D. Colton, from whose testimony I have already quoted in the chapter regarding the assistance given by them in railway building, said ;—[1]

" Q. What is the capacity of these men, and their " inclination to do hard work? The question has been " raised as to their selection of light work, and about their " being unwilling to do hard work; how is that? A. I " never have placed them in any position where they did " not, to use a common expression, fill the bill. I have " seen them in mining. I had some mining interests in " Wyoming, coal mining. We had all sorts of trouble and " finally put in Chinamen, and there are no better coal " miners in the world now than these Chinamen.

" Q. What kind of work do they perform there? A. " All kinds of work. Mining the coal and hoisting.

" Q. Do they work under ground? A. Yes; they " do everything about the mine."

Mr. Speer says ;—[2]

" The Chinese upon our Pacific coast have proved " themselves admirable miners. When the hostility of " white foreigners has driven them out of the better " mining regions, or compelled them to remain satisfied " with diggings which have already been washed over " two or three times, they have still toiled patiently and " diligently. During the dry season, while most others " were lying idle, they might be seen making repairs,

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 604.

[2] Ch. and U. S., p. 524.

"digging and collecting the dirt into the best situations "to take advantage of the coming rise of water, or at "other work. In the employment of our people they "have proved of great value at quartz mining. Rock "which could not be worked by white labor, with wages "at three to seven dollars a day, can be made profitable "when Chinese can be got to extract the ore and deliver "it at the mill at two dollars or less. Then districts "which had been almost abandoned have revived and all "classes of the population have been benefited. For "although the laboring class of whites objected to the "low wages paid to the Chinese, yet the possibility of 'carrying on mining operations furnished them with "other and better employments, and so sustained life in "the community. And the mining licenses, of $4 a "month, which have been exacted with scrupulous punctuality—nay sometimes, that the collector might be "sure that he was on the safe side, two or three times in "the same month—have in some counties paid the entire "ordinary expenses of the county, whose treasury otherwise would have been bankrupt."

Mr. Henry K. W. Clarke, a lawyer and farmer, testified before the commission as follows ;—[1]

"Q. How were the Chinese treated in the mines? A. "Of that I cannot speak, only from hearsay rather than "from observation. I have seen them frequently working in the mines, and they have been working in "general what are called worn-out mines. There they "have been compelled to work for amounts for which "white men would not work.

"Q. When they find any diggings which are worth a "white man's working, do you know what happens? A. "I understand that frequently they are driven from them;

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 591.

"that when they will pay above a certain amount the "Chinamen must not work them.

"Q. Is that light labor, working up those old diggings? "A. It is very heavy labor.

"Q. It has been said here that the Chinamen shy "hard work. How is that? A. That has not been "my experience. A Chinaman will do any work that "you will pay him for doing. We all know that they "are not a large-boned or large-muscled people, but an "exceedingly active people and very patient to toil.

"Q. State to the committee what is the nature of "working up these placer diggings, what kind of work "they have to do? A. It is done with a pick and "spade, and consists in the turning over of large bowld-"ers, running tunnels in different directions, throwing out "the dirt and bowlders and saving the fine dirt. If it is "in the proper season they wash the dirt as they go "along; if not, they keep it until the rainy season com-"mences, when they take this dirt, throw it into the "rockers and wash it. It is work in which there is a "great deal of exposure, they being compelled, in the "washing season, to be constantly in the water, and in "the warm season the weather is exceedingly hot. It is "very severe work."

Henry Degroot, a witness with a strong anti-Chinese predilection, testified as follows;—[1]

"Q. I wish you to state to the commission your views "in reference to Chinese immigration and its bearing "upon the mines, the labor of the mines, and such other "reflections as may occur to you upon this question. A. "In regard to its effect upon the miners, and the mining "interests, I am better qualified to speak than as to its "effect upon any other industry in California, because "that has been my business. I think that the effect of

[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1103.

"the presence of these people here has been very detrimental to the labor interests and to the mining industry "also. My attention was first called to this fact as long "ago as 1853-54 when I was acting as collector of the "foreign-miners tax. At that day we had a great deal "of river-bar mining, and placer mining of every character, that would pay from three to six dollars; it would "average four or five dollars a day to each man; but that "was hardly considered white wages then, and the community generally was indifferent as to the presence of "the Chinese, and thought it was well enough to let these "people come in and work that character of mines, believing that it would not pay white labor then and probably never would. The Chinese went on and by their "method of mining they covered up a great deal of good "ground. They prevented white men from coming in "because they did not like to mine near them, and in "that way a good deal of mining-ground was lost which "we will never be able to work out. Subsequently they "began to increase and to be employed as laborers in the "mines,—that is to be hired. This went on increasing. "We thought at first they could not be employed to advantage in certain classes of mining, or in any class, but "it was found that they could. They were hired first in "placer mines, and then in drift digging to some extent, "and finally in hydraulic mining to very good advantage, "except for moving stones and working in the pit; and "as they became educated to the business they greatly "displaced white labor, and now we have them employed "in every kind of mining as laborers at good wages. "This operation is constantly going on and displacing "white men. The result is that the country all through "from Kern river to Shasta, a distance of five hundred "miles is full of villages in a state of decadence. It is true "these villages were partially depopulated along about

"1857, when the surface placers were considerably ex-"hausted and a great many miners left and went to Fox "river and elsewhere. Many of them returned afterwards, "but in the mean time Chinese labor was substituted and "when they came back they found that their claims were "occupied. They found their position as laborers occupied, "and they drifted away again; left the mines instead of "working them, staying and building up homes. In that "way the Chinese have come in and do nearly all of what "is now called river-bed washing, turning the channels of "rivers and washing them. There is a class of white "men, residing in the mines from the first, who have "made it a business to take up claims and sell them to "the Chinese, which is in contravention of course of the "laws of the country, and also of the local laws of the "miners; but the miners leaving, these local laws have "not been enforced, and these white men who do not like "generally to work very well, have made it a business to "take up claims and sell them to the Chinese. When "they are once inducted into these claims, these men who "sell them remain and exercise a sort of protection over "them. In some places there are very large numbers of "them. In the vicinity of Oroville there are between "three and four thousand Chinamen mining upon the "public domain who have obtained their claims in that "manner."

This witness seems to have been an intelligent and humane person. He says of himself, in another part of his evidence;—"In my neighborhood I am regarded as "a friend of the Chinese, for the reason that I so often "protect them. That is to say, I believe that as long "as they are here they should be protected from brutal "treatment, and a long as they are here they must be "employed. That is the way I view the matter."

But intelligent and humane as he was according to the measure of his education and enlightenment, he has failed to grasp the question in its broadest sense. I shall not stop here to argue the economical considerations which are involved. "They have taken possession," not by force, not by fraud, but because they are patient, steady, skillful workers, "and do nearly all of what is now called "the river bed washing, turning the channels of rivers "and washing them." Does any one envy them the results of such labors, or does any one of enlightened views, doubt that they have contributed to the wealth of the country, just in the measure of their ability and disposition to stand by their claims and to develop them?

Before passing from this part of my inquiry, I desire to point out the pertinency of the statement of Mr. Degroot, that the Chinese "were hired first, in placer mining, then in drift digging to some extent, and finally in "hydraulic mining, to very great advantage, * * and "now we have them employed in every kind of mining, "as laborers, at good wages." I take it that the employers in these cases were our own countrymen mainly, and that the success of their enterprises depended largely upon their ability to command labor at reasonable rates. The testimony of Mr. Colton, regarding his coal mining operations in Wyoming, would indicate this. But in point of fact, we need no evidence upon this point. Mining of all kinds in California has been hazardous, and men with capital enough to embark in it upon the scale of the enterprises of more recent years, would take into careful account the price of labor. If this should be high and uncertain, they would be deterred more or less from undertaking it.

I cannot pretend to offer any statement of the wealth which the Chinese have created in their mining operations, because I have not at the moment access to information which would enable me to work out the calculation. I find, however, that the committee of the California Legislature, from the report of which I have already quoted, estimated that 30,000 Chinese were engaged in mining in the year 1862. If we suppose that there were 20,000, and that they earned an average of $2 a day, the aggregate is the considerable sum of $1,200,000 a month, or 14,400,000 a year. And they would have paid to the State and county treasuries, at the rate of $4 a month for each man, $80,000 a month, or $960,000 a year. A note added to the report of the committee states that "20,000 miners buy water at 30 cents a man a day," which would make $2,160,000 a year, and that "15,000 "buy claims at 25 cents a man a day," which would amount to $1,350,000 a year.

Doubtless some portion of all this wealth, or whatever might be the wealth created by the Chinese in mining, would be removed from the country, and sent to China. Yet how small a proportion of it would be carried or sent away. It would be as necessary for the Chinese miner to supply his daily wants as for the American, and in the midst of prevailing high prices these would consume a very large portion of his earnings. When working where the American declared he could not afford to work, surely his savings could not be very great. It is doubtful, I think, whether the Chinamen would send away from the country in gross as much in any year or series of years, as American miners or other foreign miners, would dissipate in carousing and irregular living.

PART II.—CHAPTER IV.

THE MATERIAL RESULTS OF CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA. FARMING.

Mining interests declining and agricultural advancing. Physical features and climate of the State. Agricultural capacity of the State not understood at first. Seasons peculiarly convenient for the farmer. Normal expenses of the farmer less than elsewhere. Land cultivated in large tracts. Certain disadvantages of the farmer; lack of rain, high wages. Annual production. Land-killing system, due to extent of lands available, dear capital and dear labor. The kind of work done by the Chinese. Evidence of Mr. Roberts, Colonel Hollister, Mr. Horner, Mr. Brier, Judge Dwinelle, Mr. Easterby and Mr. Sneath as to the nature and value of their labor. Future of the agricultural interests of the State.

It is well known that for a considerable period the mining interests of California have been falling off and that great advances have been made in agriculture. The boundless prospects of the latter may not be so well understood.

The State is favorably situated as respects climate. Its southern boundary touches the 32nd. degree of latitude, its northern the 42nd. degree. The Pacific ocean laves its coast line. The Sierra Nevada traverse its eastern portion. There is no part of it which does not receive for more or less of each day, invigorating breezes borne in from the sea. The days are usually warm enough, even in midwinter, to make vegetation grow. The nights are almost always cool. It is a region in which man and beast can put forth all their normal energies. It produces the plants of the temperate zone and many of those which belong properly to the tropics.

The physical features of the State exhibit a singular variety. The valleys, interspersed among the mountains which border the coast, are well sheltered in winter, and in summer are made cool by the continually recurring breezes from the sea. They abound in running streams and lakelets. The mountain sides are often smooth enough for cultivation. They are covered in places by heavy growths of timber, in others by wild grasses, notably the wild oat. They nowhere attain a great altitude. Back of these lies the great valley of California, divided generally into two parts—the Sacramento, or northern valley, and the San Joaquin, or southern valley. The whole is nearly five hundred miles in length, and averages from thirty to forty in breath. The soil throughout is alluvial, and in certain districts it is of great depth and richness. Still back of these the Sierra Nevada, rising to an altitude of from 6,000 to 12,000 feet, offer all varieties of climate. The lower parts of this great range rise by easy undulations from the plain, and have already been brought under cultivation to a considerable extent,

The earlier voyagers to California believed that agricultural lands were almost entirely wanting, and even after the discovery of gold and the influx of population, few persons dreamed of the capacity of the soil. The great plains were treeless, and, for a large part of the year, parched by drought. The seasons did not correspond with those of the Eastern States. Earlier essays made in agriculture were not well directed in consequence. and tended to confirm prevailing ideas. The absorbing interest was that of mining.

It has been discovered more lately, however, that the soil and climate are peculiarly favorable for the culture of wheat, and the other small grains, and maize, and that cotton, the sugar cane, hemp, and a great variety of fruits and berries may be grown.

The rains begin late in October. From this time until

May the country is every where green. South of Sacramento frost is seldom seen; flowers bloom in the gardens; many trees retain their foliage. Even in the Sacramento valley, the appearance of the country in midwinter is like that of the Eastern States in the spring time. It is believed that oranges may be successfully grown as far north as Marysville.

So soon as the rains moisten the soil, ploughing is begun, and from that time until after the first of March, wheat, oats, barley, &c., may be sown. Corn is planted from March to May. After the middle of April the rains cease, and in the latter part of May the harvesting season begins, and lasts until the crops are completely saved. Corn is harvested in October and November, and even in December.

It will be seen that the planting season for wheat extends over nearly five months, and the harvesting season over nearly as many more. The planting may be interrupted by rains, which fall gently, as a rule, during the winter months, but no drop of moisture descends during the summer. The standing grain ripens in due time, hardening in the clear dry atmosphere and untouched by mildew. No storms sweep over it, no blight attacks it, and it stands ready to be gathered in until the convenience of the farmer allows him to complete his work. It is cut generally by a machine called the "Header," which removes only the ears and some small portion of the stalk, and is threshed in the fields. Put into bags it is left there, or at the railway station, in the open air until carried to market. Hay is baled and left in the field in the same way, and root crops remain in the dry earth until a convenient moment to dig them out arrives.

It is evident that the normal expense of growing wheat must be much lower than in less favored regions, but the whole measure of the farmers' advantage has not been told. The soil as a rule is light and friable, and does not sod over as heavily as the wheat growing lands east of the Rocky Mountains. It can be broken up with ease by gang plows, one team doing the work of two or perhaps three teams in the East and with less fatigue to the plowman. On fertile lands a volunteer crop usually follows the first seeding. The animals used for plowing and other work need but little grain or prepared forage at any season of the year, the fresh grasses affording them nourishment in the winter, and the naturally cured hay, the seeds of clover, and the wild oat, in the summer.

The tendency in California under these circumstances, and because of the abundance of cheap lands on the one hand and the scarcity of labor on the other, has been toward the cultivation of large tracts by individual farmers. They have avoided, in this way, the expense of fencing their fields. For farm buildings they need only rude structures to protect their hands, their animals and implements, from the sun in summer and from the rain in winter. A few hundred dollars might cover the whole expense of buildings for a farm of a thousand acres.

Against the advantages of the Californian wheat grower, as thus set forth, are to be placed certain disadvantages under which he labors. His soil, excepting upon the alluvial bottom lands, is likely to fail sooner than the stiffer soils of the northwest. It may be that the absence of rain for many months in the year detracts from their capacity to produce a series of crops without deterioration. The winter rains may be excessive for the lower lands or insufficient for the higher. It is understood that wheat is sometimes a complete failure, more particularly in the southern districts of the State. Transportation to the coast has been expensive in the past, and the distance from the grain markets of the world is very great.

One of the most serious drawbacks, has been the high cost of labor. The farmer of Illinois, of Indiana or Minnesota in recent years, has paid his hands engaged for the busy season not more perhaps than $20 a month besides board. His competitor in California at the same time has paid not less than fifty per cent. more. By the day the Illinois farmer has paid about $1.25, without board; the Californian about $2.

It would be idle to attempt to solve the question whether the western farmer or the Californian has the balance of advantage under the circumstances stated, by any process of reasoning upon the facts. The actual results show however that the Californian farmer has been able to compete in the production of wheat and that the tendency is toward an increment of the annual production. The export from San Francisco in 1860 amounted to 58,926 barrels of flour, and 381,768 centals; in 1870 to 352,962 barrels, and 4,863,890 centals, and in 1879 it was 234,381 barrels and 7,069,933 centals.

It is to be remembered, however, that the Californian farmer has not been obliged to rely wholly upon white labor, that he has received a great deal of assistance from the Chinese, both directly and because of the average cheapening of the labor market by their competition.

How far wages have been lowered by the presence of Chinese we cannot tell. Their competition would undoubtedly have a great effect upon the market, but on the other hand high wages might have induced other labor to come into the state more freely. Whether it would have been possible at higher wages to cultivate wheat for exportation may be doubted. It may be doubted, even, whether, with the market supplied only by whites, it would have been possible to secure enough to bring the average of wages down to a point when production would have begun.

Col. Hollister, one of the largest farmers in the State, and one of the most intelligent and thoughtful witnesses examined before the Congressional commitee, takes a very gloomy view of the prospects of wheat culture. In his opinion the cultivation of the past has been of a sort to rob the soil, and cannot be permanently successful at the prevailing high rates of wages. He says ;—[1] "My "own conviction is from what I have seen and know, "from my own experiments, and what I have seen of "my neighbors, that there is not a farm in the State "scientifically handled, handled well with a view to its "permanency, without exhaustion, restoring as we take "away, that will survive at $25 a month for labor. A "farmer cannot survive on a payment of a minimum of "$25 a month and board. The farm will not pay the "labor. * * It is very apparent that we are simply "leaving a desert behind us. That is the history of California farming. We are taking every pound of bread "out of the soil and sending it to Europe. There are "only so many pounds of bread in an acre of land, and "when you take it out there is no more; you have got to "restore the elements. This requires labor and an expenditure of money. To-day it is a simple drain all "the time. It is a draught upon the bank to pay this exorbitant labor. The farmer will not stand it, and no "man in the world can stand it. I have seen myself "twenty crops of wheat taken off, and that is a fact without parallel anywhere else on the face of the earth, I "think. Yet this land is all young. I have seen here, "almost in sight of this town, eighty bushels of wheat "produced to the acre. I have seen the same land afterward when you could run a dog through it without

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 768.

"striking a stalk. That is poverty; that is failure; and "when the soil is bankrupt your farming is bankrupt; "and when your farming is bankrupt commerce is gone."

There is other evidence scattered through the report of the committee that the progress of wheat culture in California has been of the "land-killing" kind. The reasons for this are not difficult to divine. In the first place, the lands of California are very extensive. Mr. Brooks estimates the whole area of the State at 102,000,000 of acres, and classes it as follows;—

		Acres.
I.	Now under cultivation	5,500,000
II.	Capable of cultivation for grain	8,000,000
III.	Swamp and tule lands which may be reclaimed	4,500,000
IV.	Dry lands; rich but useless without irrigation	25,000,000
V.	Outside of these and between them and the forest belt, suitable for vines, the mulberry, fruit, berries, tea, coffee, etc	8,000,000
VI.	Land now covered with forest	20,000,000
VII.	Denuded land, and other land that may be replanted and reforested	14,000,000
VIII.	Mountain tops, worthless for agriculture	15,000,000
IX.	Covered with water	2,000,000

It will be noticed that Mr. Brooks believes that in addition to the 5,500,000 acres now under cultivation, there are 8,000,000 more available. I understand from his classification and from his comments upon the classification, that these 8,000,000 of acres are immediately available; that they do not need reclamation, clearing or irrigation, but may be put at once under the plow.

In the second place, capital is very dear. Mr. Bryant, mayor of San Francisco, testified before the commission that the bank rate in San Francisco, the money centre of California, was one per cent. per month at that time, and, that for permanent loans, it was worth about ten per cent..[1]

In the third place, population is sparse. California, with an area nearly equal to that of France, had, or is supposed to have had, in 1876, a population of no more than 750,000 persons.

It is simply a matter of course that, under these conditions, lands in California are cheap and labor dear, and that the farmer's efforts are directed to get the most from the soil with the least possible effort. Careful husbanding of the resources of the soil comes only in older communities, where land is dear, money cheap, and labor abundant.

Circumstances indicate then that the wheat grower of California has been obliged to take advantage of all the opportunities of his situation to be able to compete with growers elsewhere.

Irrespective of the general effect produced by the presence of Chinese in the labor market, and the breaking down of the high wages which would naturally be demanded by white men if in undisputed control of it, the fact remains that the Californian farmer has been able, of late years, to employ Chinamen at about $20 a month, besides his board, when he has been obliged to pay the native American, or the foreigner of other nationality, not less than $30 a month, besides his board.

It seems to be true that the Chinaman is not qualified usually for all kinds of agricultural work. He is not handy as a teamster, nor in the management of machinery. He does not displace the whites, therefore, but supplements their labor. He can bind up the cut wheat in sheaves, feed the thresher, or sack the threshed out grain as well as the white. Taking them, however, just as they are, the following testimony indicates how great a place they have filled in wheat culture.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 186.

Mr. George D. Roberts testified ;—[1]

"I will state an instance in which we gave white labor "a very fair test a few years ago. We had a very large "wheat field. It was harvest time, and the superintendent wrote down to send him up a couple hundred of "white men. I went to all the labor institutions here, "and employed men of all kinds, of all nations. We "gave them the usual country wages, whatever it was, "$35 or $40 dollars a month, I think. We had to abandon it after trying a couple of weeks, and losing a great "deal of wheat by the experiment. Those men would "not work more than two or three days or a week, and "then they would quit. I kept the steamer almost loaded "sending up white men, but they would leave as fast as "I sent them. I then went to a Chinaman and told him "that I wanted to contract for binding and shocking "wheat. We did the reaping by machines. I made the "contract at so much per acre. The weather was warm. "They went up there; several hnndred of them came. "We had one to two hundred acres that had been reaped, "and needed putting up very badly; and the next morning it was all in shock. The Chinamen did the work "that night. They did the work well and faithfully, and, "of course, we abandoned white labor. Since then we "have done all machine work with white men, but field "work of that kind we would contract with Chinamen "to do."

In answer to a question as to the relative merits of Chinese and others as agricultural hands, the same witness testified ;—

"Better than the Swede, and the Swede is the best "worker we have had. They are better field hands than

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 440.

"the Swede. You can depend upon them longer; that "is, if you can get them this year you can get them next "year and the year after, if you treat them well and pay "them. They become attached to your place and they "stay with you. So far as the labor question is concerned there is no doubt but that the Chinaman is the "best laborer we have in this country for certain classes "of work, and he does a class of work generally that "white men scorn to do, and which the white man will "not do if he can possibly avoid it. We employ a great "many white men. We have two or three hundred white "men employed all the time. Immigrants, men coming "to this country, will hire by the month, and stay with you "two months, or three months at the outside. They are "not satisfied with $30 or $35 a month. They did not "come to this country, they say, to work, they came to "make money, and they are not satisfied. As soon as "they get a few months wages they want to go to the "mines, or to rent a piece of land of you, and hire Chinamen to do the work. They want to speculate. A very "intelligent class of white men generally come to this "country, and very few of them come to do cheap labor; "that must be done or it will stop the progress of the "country. We could not afford to pay three or four dollars a day to white men to do our work. We could not "get them to do it, scarcely; and the labor that the Chinamen do is producing wealth for the country and producing labor for the white man."

In answer to a question whether the Chinese purchase or rent lands, the same witness said;—

"Not to any very great extent, but more so recently "than formerly. There is a disposition among them now "to turn their attention to farming. They think it is a "more quiet life; they get out of the excitement of the "city. Many of them have rented patches and are paying $25 and $30 a year per acre for lands.

"Q. Twenty-five and thirty dollars a year? A. Yes, "sir; pretty nearly all the sweet potatoes you get here "are raised by Chinamen, on Grand Island, and in that "neighborhood."

Mr. Hollister testified as follows;—[1]

"Q. You told the commission that when a white man "applied to you to contract, you said; 'I do not want to "'contract with you; there is work, you can go and do "'it; but I will not contract with you?' A. I know "there are as good white men as anybody else in the "world. I would hire them quicker than anybody else "in the world, because I know the American is the best "man out, if he is good.

"Q. Would you give them the preference over China-"men? A. Yes; I hire Chinamen for $15 a month, "and I pay $30 a month to Americans; and the China-"men are doing just as much as the Americans.

"Q. Is it your interest to do that? A. I cannot help "myself; I must either stop farming or hire the others.

"Q. Or hire the Chinamen? A. Certainly.

"Q. Then your necessities compel you to employ "white men, and your inclinations compel you to employ "Chinamen? A. Not a bit of it. I have not said that. I "say that I would hire an American quicker than any "other man in the world, because he is the best man, if "he is a good man. If he is a bummer I do not want "to have him at all.

"Q. Can you make a profit out of him by paying "these wages? A. Not a bit; I am losing money all "the time.

"Q. Do you make any money out of the labor of "Chinamen? A. When I can get them at prices low "enough, I do. I do not think men make much out of "Chinamen at $15 a month. I do not think a farmer in

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 781.

"California who does his duty by his land can make "money if he pays more than ten or fifteen dollars a "month."

Mr. John M. Horner, a farmer of Alameda county, an especially rich and favorably located district, testified as follows;—[1]

"Q. Have you employed Chinese labor, or do you "employ it now? A. Yes, sir; I have employed almost "all nationalities, and a great portion of them are Chinese.

"Q. You employ any labor that you can? A. Yes, "sir; any labor that I can get hold of.

"Q. Could you successfully carry on your farming "operations without Chinese labor? A. Yes, sir; I "could do so. I find them a very convenient class of "laborers, yet the whole success of farming does not depend upon them.

"Q. To what extent does it depend upon the Chinese? A. When we have abundant crops there has "not been help enough aside from the Chinese, available "to harvest the crops, and without them much of the "crop would go to waste.

"Q. Do your neighbors employ Chinamen? A. "They do. The Portuguese, Frenchmen and Americans "employ them. All who own property employ them.

"Q. Then they look upon them as a necessity in your "neighborhood? A. That is the general impression.

"Q. What is the common opinion of people in your "neighborhood on the question of Chinese labor? A. "They are for it as a general thing; that arises, how"ever, more on account of its reliability than on account "of its cheapness."

Speaking of the price of labor, Mr. R. F. Peckham said;—[2]

"Q. What is the difference in the prices of labor for

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 799.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 557.

"farms here and corresponding labor in the Eastern and "Middle States? A. White labor on farms now is "worth, that is it commands, from $30 to $40 a month, "and board. I think that the value of such labor in the "East, when I was last there, would range, in different "localities, from $18 to $25.

"Q. And board? A. And board.

"Q. What is the difference between the average price "of white labor upon farms here, and Chinese labor? A. "I think that you can get Chinese labor, when you have "a large amount of work, for about $30 a month and "they will board themselves."

The Reverend William W. Brier, speaking upon the "same point, said ;—[1]

"While I was traveling in the east this spring I made "diligent inquiry in various States, and I found that the "price of labor on farms ranged from $12 to $15 a "month, for that class of laborers who receive here from "$25 to $30.

"Q. For how many years has the present rate for "white labor prevailed in this State? A. I think that "it has remained very much the same since 1857. It has "advanced a little, perhaps, for certain kinds of laborers "over what it was then, that is to say, labor that the "Chinese perform."

The same witness testified further ;—

"The Chinese population so far as it has come here is "a necessity for the farming interests of the country. "To interfere with it would be a serious mistake. This "is the universal opinion of both republicans and demo-"crats, so far as I know them in Alameda county, with-"out an exception. I can bring every man who carries "on business in my neighborhood and he will testify to "the same thing."

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 572.

Again ;—

"All the contracts for Chinese labor so far as I know, "are made with what is called a boss Chinaman, and he "hunts up other Chinamen and brings them in. The "consequence of that is a great advantage to labor, be-"cause when a man has any large amount of labor to "perform that must be done in a limited time, he can get "men in this way. You cannot do it with white men, "because they have their places and continue in them for "a long time. There are a great many Chinamen going "from one point to another, and from one job to another, "and if a man has a crop exposed, and there is great "haste, he can get a large number of Chinamen to work "for him."

And again ;—

"The Chinese are a cleanly people; they keep them-"selves neat and clean and nice; there is nothing offen-"sive about them. I have never seen but one drunken "Chinaman during my stay in California. I did see one "man with a bottle of whisky tied to each end of his pole, "and he was reeling from one side to the other, and I "said to myself, that Chinaman is becoming American-"ized. I have had but one Chinaman come to my house "and ask for anything to eat, or ask if I had anything to "give him ; just one individual case, and I suppose there "are more than a hundred fed there of white men every "year."

Mr. Samuel H. Dwinelle, for twelve years judge of the Fifteenth District Court, comprising the counties of San Francisco and Contra Costa, testified;—[1]

"Q. Is there a strong prejudice among the people of "this State against Chinese immigration? A. I think "there is among the laboring classes. Outside of these "I do not think it is very strong.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 748.

"Q. Do you mean to say that this opposition is confined to the laboring classes? A. I think so, pretty "much, as far as my observation goes. I think that "farmers are always ready to employ Chinese, and in "many instances they tell me that they prefer them to "white laborers. I have heard some of them say that "they could not move their crops without the assistance "of the Chinese; that if the Chinese were driven from "the country their crops could not be moved."

Mr. Anthony Easterby, a farmer, and president of the Fresno Irrigation Company, testified as follows;—[1]

"Q. What is the opinion of farmers on this question, "so far as you are acquainted with them? A. All of "the farmers that I have ever spoken with are in favor of "having Chinese for servants, decidedly. In some cases "they use them as laborers on the farm, for doing light "work, and where horses are not used. The Chinese do "not seem to understand the use of horses as whites do.

"Q. What is the case at harvest time? A. They "use them for receiving the wheat into the header "wagons, where there is a scarcity of white labor. "Sometimes, where there are white men only employed, "if one or two knock off, it stops the whole gang. The "Chinese when employed, will stay as long as you keep "them.

"Q. What is their character, generally, as laborers? "A. They are faithful, and you can depend upon them "attending to their work without watching them. For "instance, when I was president of the Napa Valley railroad, I had them in the section gangs, keeping up the "roads, without any foreman. When you set them upon "doing a piece of work, you can depend upon its being "done.

"Q. In harvest time would there be any difficulty in

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 745.

"getting sufficient white labor to save the harvest? "A. There is, sometimes, because all the farmers require "labor at the same time.

"Q. Farmers then require a large number of laborers "that they could not employ the rest of the year? "A. Yes, that they could not employ the rest of the "year. After the harvest is over there is no more use "for the hands until the rain comes, when it is necessary "to plow, and then only a much smaller number is "needed than during the harvest season."

Mr. Richard G. Sneath, vice-president and manager of the Merchant's Bank, a former president of the Chamber of Commerce and manager of the Merchants Exchange gave the following evidence;—[1]

"Q. What are the general habits of industry of the "Chinese? A. I have employed a good many common "Chinese, and find them a very industrious people and "in general very reliable. In fact, in a great many instances, I greatly prefer the Chinese to white labor. "But, again, I am now employing a considerable number "of persons farming pretty extensively, nearly all of "whom are white men, for the reason that Chinese do "not understand farming. It is impossible to understand "them or to direct them properly on account of not being "familiar with the language. They can only be worked "in gangs, where they have their headmen; but still, "after awhile, as they soon take up with our language, "and pick up a great many mechanical ideas some of "them became very useful.

"Q. What effect has Chinese labor had upon the "growth and capacity of the State, in your judgment? "A. Without Chinese labor I do not think there would "have been half the material wealth in this State."

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 544.

Again ;—

"Our object is to benefit California and to give employment to as many people as we can, and that those "who have lands shall be able to occupy them and improve them. It is absolutely necessary to have as cheap "labor as they have in the Eastern States in order to "compete with countries abroad, and in order to be a " self sustaining people and to live in our own State."

It is not necessary, and it would not be profitable perhaps, to extend remarks upon the good that the Chinese in California have done to the agricultural interest. What has been said here relates chiefly to their assistance in the wheat fields of the State. It should be remembered only, that wheat culture is but one branch of the farming interest. Indian corn, oats, and barley are extensively grown. Potatoes, beets and onions are produced in quantities sufficient to meet the demands of local consumption. The culture of beets for sugar has been essayed, and will as I judge become hereafter an important industry. In my opinion California is far more likely to supply the sugar market of the country, from the beet, than our Southern States from the cane. A serious effort to cultivate cotton has also been made with such results as to demonstrate, as I believe, that with cheaper labor it may be successfully grown.

In face of all difficulties the people of California have done a great deal in agriculture. With cheaper money and more labor, their achievements may be imagined, but can scarcely be portrayed. The reclamation of low lands, and the irrigation of those needing water must take place. Money will become cheaper. Laborers will flow in, and also that not less important class, men of some means and experience, as employers. One experience after another will demonstrate what lands may be reclaimed, and what advantages result from irrigation. Experiments will be made in the succession of crops, alike with a view to immediate profit and the preservation and enrichment of the soil. The peculiar fertilizers needed will be discovered, and the crops most suitable to the soil and climate and which will give the best returns to the cultivator will be determined. It is an immense region, varying in its different parts, different altogether from any other part of our country. It has been only so far developed as to suggest its possibilities.

At a later moment I shall deal with the question whether Chinamen are likely to become a permanent portion of the population of this region. For the present it is enough to say that there is hardly any branch of agriculture in which they have not been extensively used and to the great advantage of the farmer and of the commonwealth. Their labor has been kindly, patient and faithful, while that of their white competitors has been in a large measure exacting and uncertain. With less physical strength, unfamiliar with the kind of work set for them to do, ignorant even of the language of their employers, they have made themselves so useful as to be well nigh indispensable. Whatever else may be said of them, they have added greatly to the material wealth of the State in its most important and permanent interests. It is not less true that they have the capacity to do more for the State.

PART II.—CHAPTER V.

THE MATERIAL RESULTS OF CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA. FRUIT CULTURE.

The views of the joint committee of the Legislature of 1862 regarding wine production. Cheap labor needed. Culture of tea, fruits, etc. Wine production of 1876. Mr. Nordhoff's statement of area suitable for the vine, and favorable nature of the climate. Chinese labor in vineyards. Testimony of Mr. Hill. Employment of Chinese by Buenavista Vinicultural Society, and Anaheim Vine Growers' Association. Mr. Curtis's evidence. Fruits of California. Superior opportunities of fruit growers. Fruit wasted because of lack of labor to save it. Testimony of Mr. Gibson, Mr. Beals, Mr. Peckham, Mr. Badlam, and Mr. Castle regarding the part taken by the Chinese in the growth and preservation of fruit.

A joint committee of the Legislature of California reported as follows in 1862;—[1]

"With cheap labor we could supply all our own wines "and liquors, besides sending large quantities abroad. "The wine crop of France in 1849 was 925,000,000 "gallons, valued at $100,000,000. In 1853 she had in "vineyards 4,873,934 acres, (giving less than 200 gallons "to the acre,) making about 8,107 square miles, or an "area of 250 miles in length by 32 in breadth. California contains 188,981 square miles, which would give "120,947,840 acres, so that if only one twenty-fifth of our "area should be planted with vineyards, we should have "an amount equal to France.

"We have a fresher soil than that of France, and a "better climate for grape culture, and we could produce "larger quantities of wine and of better quality than is "grown upon worn out lands.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1189.

"This cannot be done without the aid of cheap labor "from some quarter: but a portion of Chinese with white "labor, would add incalculably to the resources of the "State in this particular branch. To the wine produced, "add the cost of pipes and bottles the transportation and "commission on sales, and this wine and liquor interest "would become second only to the mining and farming "interest.

"Turning from the grape, let us dwell a moment upon "the production of rice, tea, sugar, tobacco and dried "fruits of every description, such as figs, raisins, &c., all "of which can be easily grown within this State, and "soon will be if we encourage cheap labor from abroad "to come in and cultivate our waste luxuriant soil. It is "industry which makes a people great, rich and powerful; and we need only to supplement our enterprise "and resources by the willing hand of patient labor to "make our young and giant State the glory of our country and the marvel of the world."

The anticipations of the members of the committee have been realized in a measure. In the nine months from January 1st to October 1st, 1876, 561,033 gallons of native wines were exported from California by sea and land. The receipts at San Francisco of such wines during the same months were 1,266,736 gallons, and of native brandies 43,050 gallons.[1] It would seem therefore that the State had begun already so long ago as 1876 to supply more or less completely the wines made for home consumption and was sending large quantities abroad.

From a statement made in a paper appended to the report of the Congressional committee it appears, that the crop of 1875 amounted to about 8,000,000 gallons of wine and 80,000 gallons of grape brandy, and that there were at that time in California nearly 40,000,000 vines growing, more than three quarters of which were in bearing condition.[1]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1203.

Mr. Nordhoff says ;—[2]

"The area in California on which the grape can be "successfully grown for wines is so great that this State "will some day—and that before many years—produce "wine and brandy for the whole world. In thirty-five out "of the forty-four counties of the State, the grape for wine "has been and is now successfully grown. The climate "it perfect—the grapes ripen fully every year. There "are no early frosts as in Germany or France to hasten "the picking. An experienced wine-maker said to me, "'With us every year is a comet year. We have as good "'a season every year as they have, only once in a dozen "'years in France and Germany.'"

Again ;—

"The business of raising grapes and making them into "wine is already a very great one, in California, and will "increase rapidly for years to come. As I have traveled "through the State and seen the vineyards, I have again "and again wondered what became of all the wine that "is made here. Yet it is all consumed ; there is very "little three year old wine in any of the cellars ; and no "matter how remote or how far from the great centres "he may be, the wine-maker sells his wine oftenest at "what is really a high price, as fast as he can make it.

"All this means that wine-growing in California so far "from being overdone, as I imagined it might be, is still "in its infancy, with the demand increasing every year "faster than the production. The planting of vineyards "goes on steadily, and every year men learn better where "and what to plant and how to manage wine."

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1204.

[2] Cal. Nordhoff., p. 220.

Mr. Nordhoff says further ;—

"Chinese laborers are employed in all parts of the "business. They quickly learn to prune and take care of "the vines, and their labor is indispensable."

Mr. John H. Hill, of Sonoma county, a farmer and cultivator of fruit, testified as follows ;—[1]

"Q. Do you employ Chinese labor? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Please state what kind of laborers they have "made as to their honesty, integrity and habits. A. I "find them from experience, to be temperate, industrious, "honest, and good laborers, creating no trouble whatever.

"Q. Is it a common practice in Sonoma county to "employ Chinese in the business of fruit-raising? A. I "think in my district there must be, perhaps, some 500 "Chinese employed. It is principally a vine-growing "district.

"Q. They are engaged there largely in cultivating "the grape for the farmers? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Could you get white labor to do that work? A. "I do not think that we could. I think it is one of the "industrial resources of the country which would have "to be abandoned if it depended on white labor. There "are certain seasons of the year when a large accession "to the ordinary number of hands is required, when the "crop is ripening, and I do not think white men could "be got, on the spur of the moment, to do the work.

"Q Sonoma county is noted as a vine-growing county, "is it not? A. The immediate district where I live, is "exclusively vine-growing.

"Q. Is that Sonoma Valley? A. Sonoma Valley. I "believe if it was not for the Chinese labor, that business "would have to be abandoned, and hundreds of "people would be entirely ruined.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 796.

"Q. Vine-growing is then a vital interest to these "people, a permanent interest? A. Exclusively, al- "most, in that locality."

A paragraph of appendix number 6, of the Congressional report, states that the Buena Vista Vinicultural Society is the largest association of the kind in the State, possessing over 6,000 acres in Sonoma county, and that they employ more than half Chinese laborers, mostly for grape picking and working the soil.

Another paragraph states that the United Anaheim Vine-growers Association employs about half Chinese and half Mexicans to pick grapes and work generally in the vineyards. The association, it is further stated, had, then, from 4,000 to 5,000 acres bearing fruit. The Chinese first went into the district in 1871–2, and in 1876 "were increasing very much every year."

In another paragraph of the same paper, Mr. James M. Curtis, wine and commission merchant, of San Francisco, is reported as saying;—"My information, derived "personally from the growers, is, that the picking of "grapes is done almost entirely by Chinese. I can safely "say that nineteen-twentieths is done by them. Some "Chinese are also employed in working in the fields or "vinebergs, but then generally in company with whites; "the overseers are always whites. Our native wines "appear to be silently but steadily gaining in public "favor, both at home and abroad."

Still another paragraph sets forth, that California has "at least eight or ten millions of acres of land fitted for "grape culture, which can produce more wine than "France, Germany and Spain together."

In northern and central California, the apple, peach, plum, apricot, nectarine and cherry, yield abundant crops of the largest and most luscious fruit. In southern California the semi-tropical fruits abound, the orange, almond, olive, lemon, citron, and lime. Raspberries, strawberries, currants, melons, etc., grow luxuriantly all over the State. And owing to the mountain ranges, and differences in the elevation of fruit-producing lands, the orange and the apple, the almond and the peach may be found growing near one another, and northern fruits in the more southern parts of the State.

It would be unnecessary to recite here the superior advantages of the California fruit grower. As a rule the northern states of the Union cannot be said to be favorable for fruit. The apple, the best of all American fruits, grown in all the colder districts of the Union, and the peach of some sections, are unsurpassed in the world. The Eastern States however fall far short of southern Europe in the production of fruit at large. But California is simply an unrivaled region in this respect. The fruits are larger, and, the apple excepted, not less luscious than the best eastern fruits. The trees bear younger, and with more certainty than in the East, and many fruits are produced which are unknown elsewhere in the Union saving in the tropical districts of southern Louisiana and in Florida.

Some of the fruit products of California, as the orange, the lemon, the almond, etc., can be sent to distant markets in their natural state; others only with difficulty. But the latter may be subjected to a drying process, or put up in sealed cannisters, and marketed in this form.

It is believed in California that the cultivation of the orange is the most profitable business to which a land owner in the southern part of the State can devote his attention.

Mr. Nordhoff says;—"I have been in an orchard of "less than nine acres which has produced for its owner, "for several years in succession, a clear profit of over "$8,000. An orchard of forty acres in Los Angeles is "reported to me to bring a clear rent of $15,000 per "annum; and the lessee is believed to have made a for-"tune for himself."

To the Eastern horticulturist such statements will seem extravagant and exceptional. Yet scattered all through Mr. Nordhoff's book upon California will be found similar statements, and statements of success with other fruits of a not less marvelous nature. "A single olive "tree at San Diego, reputed to be seventy years old, bore "this year over one hundred gallons of oil." "Two Eng-"lish walnut trees near Santa Barbara, thirty years "old, have yielded each fifty dollars worth of nuts per "annum for several years past." "Three citron trees "bore, at four years, without special care, forty-five dol-"lars worth of fruit." "One lemon tree which I saw at "Los Angeles yielded six hundred lemons, another older "one over two thousand."

The cultivation of fruit in California on a considerable scale, began earlier in the central parts of the State than in the south, more particularly in the small valleys of the Coast Range, near San Francisco, and upon the great plain near Sacramento, Marysville and Stockton, where the demand for the cities named, and for the mining and other dependent districts, centered. The industry fairly outran the demand, and it would surprise one to relate what proportion of the produce of the orchards of California has fallen ungathered to the ground and rotted. More lately with improved appliances for the drying and canning of fruit, and established markets at home and abroad for the sale of it, the industry has become one of great magnitude, and the more or less considerable dependence of a large body of growers, preservers and agents. At the present time there is probably no maritime town in the world in which the canned fruits of California are not offered for sale, and their consumption in our own country, north and south, is taking large proportions.

How far the Chinese have been useful in the industries thus created has been indicated in the remarks already made in regard to the vine-growing interest. One or two further relations of evidence will not be out of place, however.

Mr. Gibson says;—[1] "Probably not a single strawberry "ranch in the State is carried on, or could be carried on, "with any profit, without the employment of Chinese labor. This is a kind of industry in which they excel all "competitors. Yet with this industry carried on almost "exclusively by Chinese cheap labor, our strawberries "cost more by the pound than in New York, Philadel-"phia or Chicago. If our producers had to pay white "laborers two dollars a day for far less efficient service "than the Chinaman gives for one dollar, or one dollar "and twenty-five cents a day, who could afford to eat the "fruit when brought to market. As it is, even employ-"ing Chinese labor, our producers pay as much a pound "or basket for picking as is paid by the producers in New "York, Delaware or Maryland."

Again;—

"In fruit-raising, for which California is wonderfully "adapted, up to this time Chinese labor is indispensable."

Again;—

"As has already been stated in a previous chapter, on "fruit ranches, and farms also, the Chinamen are the suc-"cessful competitors of the whites. The fact is, our white "laborers don't like the business of stooping and squat-"ting on their haunches all day picking berries, grapes "and currants. The most of them can find employment "that suits them better and yields them better pay. Only "a few days since I overheard a company of farmers, or

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[1] Ch. in Am., p. 98.

"ranchmen, talking together over this matter. One of "them said;—'The fact is, I cannot get white labor to do "'this kind of work; I must employ Chinamen or give "'up.' Another said that he had just the same difficulty in hoeing and weeding. White men seemed to be "possessed of the notion that such work was more servile "than some other, and were reluctant to engage in it, but "the Chinaman takes kindly and naturally to the stooping and squatting position required in this kind of light "manual labor."

Mr. Henry C. Beals, editor of the San Francisco *Commercial Herald*, testified before the commission as follows;—[1]

"Q. What do you say of Chinese industry in connection with fruit culture? A. Of my own personal knowledge I could not say anything, but from my intercourse "with fruit merchants and others, they inform me they "could not get along without the Chinese; that they employ them mostly to pick their berries. They handle "them more carefully than white people, I am informed.

"Q. Was there at one time a great deal of fruit which "went to waste? A. There is now.

"Q. Has it changed in any respect? A. The quantity of fruit grown here is immense, and at times the "waste is very considerable; but then I think that there "has been less fruit wasted of late than ever before; because we have a great many drying machines, and labor "saving machines, and among others I class Chinese as "one of the labor-saving machines of this country. They "utilize Chinese in drying fruit.

"Q. They are employed in this business? A. They "are to a great extent."

Mr. Robert F. Peckham, president and managing agent of the San Jose woolen mills, testified as follows;—[2]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 620.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 555.

"Q. Do you employ Chinese? A. We do.

"Q. Are Chinese employed by other parties in your "neighborhood in San Jose? A. Yes, sir; they are very "generally employed, particularly in fruit raising and hop "raising. The labor portion of business of that kind is "nearly all done by Chinamen.

"Q. How many Chinamen are employed in your "county? A. That I could not state.

"Q. In what business, in what occupation are they "employed? A. In the business of raising fruits, straw-"berries, blackberries, currants and everything of that "kind they are very generally employed, and I think per-"form most of that labor.

"Q. Why are they so employed? A. I suppose be-"cause those who employ them think they can do the "best with them. We employ them because it is neces-"sary for us to do so in order to compete in the business.

"Q. Is not the fruit business carried on to a great ex-"tent? A. To a very great extent. Our fruit from San "Jose goes all over the United States.

"Q. You say that Chinamen are employed a good "deal in that business? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Can you tell me why they are employed in that "business? A. I cannot state of my own knowledge. "I can only state what fruit raisers and the men who em-"ploy Chinese tell me, that it is necessary to employ "them, in order to compete in the business and to make "it a success.

"Q. Is there any competition with the East in fruit "raising? A. Our surplus fruit goes there for a market.

"Q. They send none at all here? A. I think not, "but our fruit goes there by car-loads, and by train-loads."

Mr. Alexander Badlam, assessor of the city of San Francisco, stated in evidence before the committee that he had made official inquiries regarding the number of

Chinese engaged in different employments in the city, and found that about 2,500 were engaged in vending fruits and vegetables, and about 2,200 in canning fruits, making pickles, etc.[1]

Frederick L. Castle, of the firm of Messrs. Castle and Brothers, gave the following in evidence;—[2]

"Q. They raise a great deal of fruit here? A. Yes, "sir.

"Q. In former years did they utilize it, or did a great "deal of it go to waste? A. A great deal of it has been "going to waste.

"Q. What is done with it as a general thing now?

"A. The Chinese have, this year more particularly, "engaged themselves in the occupation of buying trees, "paying so much a tree, and collecting the fruit. A very "large amount of fruit that otherwise would have gone "to waste, I think, the Chinese have managed to utilize.

"Q. How do they utilize it? A. When a man has an "orchard of eight or ten acres, a Chinaman will go and "make him an offer to rent the orchard of him, so much "a tree, or so much for all.

"Q. What use do they make of the fruit? A. They "bring it to the market and sell it. A very large quantity "of fruit is now being shipped to the different western "cities.

"Q. East from here? A. Yes.

"Q. Dried fruit? A. Yes, sir; they dry it for sale.

"Q. Do you deal with them for that fruit? A. Yes, "sir.

"Q. How much in tons have been your transactions "this year in that line with the Chinese? A. I suppose "that in the last sixty days I have purchased from six to "eight car-loads of peaches and apples. A car-load contains ten tons."

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 253.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 861.

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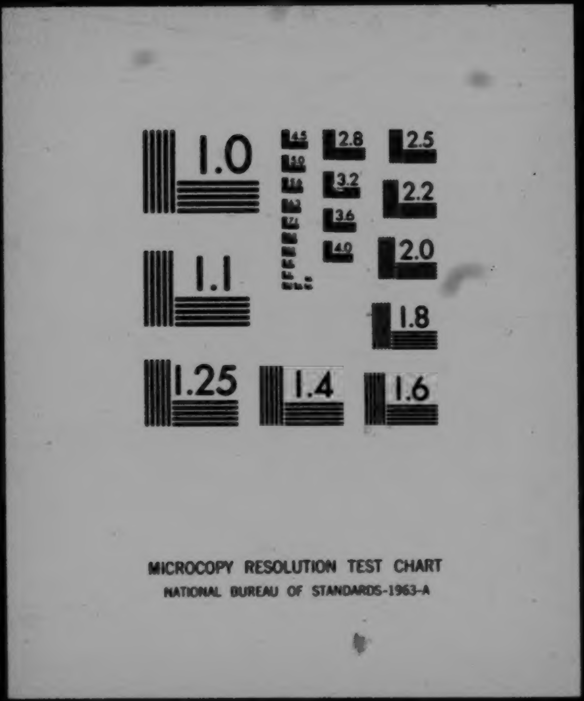
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PART II—CHAPTER VI.

THE MATERIAL RESULTS OF CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA. MANUFACTURING.

The State has made no great progress in manufacturing. Kind of manufacturing in which Chinese have taken part. Woolen goods. Testimony of Mr. Heynemann and Mr. Peckham regarding the Chinese as operatives in woolen mills. Jute bags. Testimony of Mr. Morganthau. Cordage. Testimony of Mr. Beals. By employing white persons for superior work and Chinese for inferior, an average of wages reached not much higher than Eastern rates. Cabinet makers. Cigar-boxes, &c. Candles and soap. Mr. Morganthau again. Labor uncertain in California, because laborers are scarce and wages high. Match factories. Testimony of Mr. Jessup. Brooms and broom brushes. Testimony of Mr. Pixley, Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Cortage. Other industries.

THE manufacturing industries of California are not numerous or extensive. The State is still too young, capital is too dear, and wages too high to admit of competition with the Eastern States and Europe. Whatever manufactories exist depend exclusively, with one or two peculiar exceptions, upon the local demand. With the same exceptions, local demands are only in part met by them. Is it not discreditable to the State that such is the condition of things. In point of fact, it is a matter of surprise that local industries have accomplished so much.

While this is true, the facts indicate further that Chinese have become operatives in certain directions only. I shall not stop at the moment to state why this has been the case, as it is my purpose to make an inquiry later into the question of the competition between our own people and those of European origin, on the one side, and the Chinese upon the other, and the effect which it has had upon the employment of the former. I shall go no further at the moment, than to exhibit the nature of the large manufacturing enterprises in which the Chinese have been employed; the extent to which their assistance has been availed of, and the reasons why it has been selected instead of the assistance of others. In the next chapter I shall speak of other special avocations, requiring less capital, upon which they have entered, not as employés exclusively, but also for their own account.

The more prominent of the larger industries in which they have taken part as operatives are manufactures of woolen goods, of jute bags, of cordage, of boxes and furniture, of candles, matches and brooms.

Of the several industries mentioned the manufacture of woolen goods ranks first in point of the date of its inception, and the magnitude of its operations. Its promoters were before the Congressional committee and may be allowed to speak largely for themselves. It will be seen that these enterprises would not have been undertaken in the absence of the Chinese and that their success has been only moderate.

Herman Heynemann testified as follows;—[1]

"Q. What is the character of your business? A. I "am engaged in importing goods and also in manufac- "turing.

"Q. What kind of manufacturing? A. I am presi- "dent of the Pioneer woolen factory and the agent of the "Pacific jute manufacturing company. I am the orig- "inator of the former.

"Q. What are your manufactures? A. Woolen.

"Q. Cloths? A. Cloths, blankets, flannels, shawls, "yarns, and everything that is made out of wool, almost.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 532.

"Q. Fine cloths? A. Not fine cloths, because our "wool is not adapted for that; but we make good cloths.

"Q. Is our manufacturing here more for our own "use or for export? A. Entirely for our own use. "We are not able to compete with Europe yet, so as to "export.

"Q. What is the magnitude of operations? A. Very "limited. I believe we consume about 2,000,000 pounds "of wool, and that we export 38,000,000.

"Q. In what branches of manufacture are there the "largest institutions here? A. In money value I believe "the largest incorporations here are the Pioneer and "the Mission woolen factories. I do not know how much "they have invested in the rolling mills, but there is a "million of dollars now invested in those woolen mills. "The Pacific rolling mill is the only establishment that "could compare at all, and I do not know how much "money there is invested in that.

"Q. In the other branches are there any large facto-"ries? A. Yes; latterly shoe factories have been "started here.

"Q. What number of operatives do you employ? "A. In the two mills, I should judge that we employ "600.

"Q. What two mills? A. The Pioneer and Mis-"sion, which form one incorporation.

"Q. When did you establish your manufactory? "A. In 1861 this incorporation was established. There "was a little private establishment which was burned "down, and then I started this corporation.

"Q. What operatives were employed in the old fac-"tory? A. Some Chinese and some whites.

"Q. Are all the operatives in your factory, now, "Chinese? A. No, sir; I have been listening to testi-"mony, here, to the effect that a good many white "laborers have been displaced by Chinese. Just the con-"trary has been taking place in our factory. For instance, "white girls have taken the place of Chinese. As a mat-"ter of course, any superintendent will always give the "preference to people whom he can understand rather "than to people with whom he has difficulty to speak. "That is an immense advantage in favor of white labor.

"Q. Why do you employ Chinese in your factory? "A. Originally we could not get any others at all; at that "time it would have been an absolute impossibility to "have run the factory upon white labor, simply because "we could not get white operatives.

"Q. Would the factory have been established with "white labor? A. No, sir; as a matter of fact, even "with Chinese labor, competition has been so active that "we have had no dividends whatever.

"Q. You say that you employ a certain number of "Chinese. Have you the option of employing an equal "number of boys or girls at the same rates? A. That is a "very hard question to answer. If you have got a number "of employés who know exactly what to do, you are not "going to discharge them and take another number "without knowing whether they can do the same thing; "but as labor is offering in that particular factory every "day, the number of white girls is increasing, and the "proportionate number of Chinese is decreasing.

"Q. Could you discharge the Chinamen you have "now employed and replace them with white labor with-"out any disadvantage? A. We could not do it. Of "course we have taught a certain number of operatives, "and to discharge them all would disorganize everything.

"Q. How do the Chinese compare as operatives with "American boys and girls? A. I do not know that "they are any better. I think American boys and girls "would be fully as good.

"Q. Of the whole number of your operatives how "many are Chinese? A. I should think about one-half, "exclusive of the Pacific jute factory. There the number "is almost entirely Chinese, except the foreman. We "tried there to have Scotch help, white girls. We im-"ported them for that very purpose, but could not keep "them a fortnight. They ran away, and we could not "keep them, so that we have very few now.

"Q. Would you be able to go on in manufacturing "without Chinese? A. I think it would be prejudical "generally to our factory. I would say, as to the Pacific "jute factory, that it could not go on without Chinese "labor.

"Q. What is the difference? A. In the Pacific jute "factory the looms are so much heavier that very few "women can run them.

"Q. Do women run those looms in Scotland? A Yes, "sir; whether they are stronger there or how it is I do "not understand; but it is very hard work. We are in "direct competition with them.

"Q. How many Chinese do you employ? A. In the "jute factory, I should judge, about 120.

"Q. How many persons own this jute factory? A. I "should judge about 30.

"Q. So the tariff is kept up for the benefit of 30 white "persons and 120 Chinamen? A. We have not asked "particularly to have the tariff kept up, except that we "introduced the industry and we found that we could "not compete without Chinese labor.

"Q. The cost of bags to the farmer is the cost of pro-"duction with the cost of manufacture added? A. Not "at all.

"Q. If it were not for the tariff, bags from Scotland "and Hindostan would be likely to absorb the market "here? A. You might have a bag that would cost five "cents, but if there was no local factory it might cost "twenty cents.

"Q. I am speaking of the competition between Dun-"dee and Hindostan? A. Suppose you have no local "factory. You might have to pay twenty cents, as you "did last year."

Mr. Robert F. Peckham, president and managing agent of the San Jose woolen mills, situated in the city of San Jose, testified;—[1]

"Q. How many Chinese do you employ in your mill? "A. When we are running full we employ about 20 "white hands, and our business gives employment to 8 "or 10 white men outside. We employ about 65 Chinese. "About three-fourths of the expense of running the insti-"tution, including the labor performed in selling our "goods, is paid to white labor, and about one-fourth is "paid to Chinese. We employ Chinese because it is "necessary to compete in our business. To our white "help we have to pay wages far in advance of what is "paid in similar institutions in the Eastern States, with "which we come directly into competition. To China-"men, on an average, we pay less. A year and a half "ago we compared our pay-rolls with several factories in "the East, and I found that in our business and in their's, "there was but very little difference; that with our "high-priced white labor and low-priced Chinese labor, "we average with them. They are 20 per cent. under us "at this time.

"Q. How are you able to compete with them under "these circumstances? A. I do not know that we can "compete with them next year, but we have been "able to hold our own pretty well by having the ad-"vantage of the market in the selection of our wools.

"Q. You have some advantage or disadvantage in em-

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 555.

"ploying Chinese. What is it? A. With the prices that "are demanded for white labor in California we could "not carry on the business; we should have to close our "works. There are about $3,000,000 of capital engaged "in the business on the Pacific coast, and I suppose that "all are in the same fix.

"Q. Can you obtain white labor at the same price? "A. At the prices we obtain Chinese?

"Q. Yes, sir. A. Very seldom.

"Q. Could you supply the places of the Chinese with "boys and girls? A. We have tried a number of boys "and our experience with boys has been that where their "parents are with them at the mill, to look after them "and see that they perform their duty, we have no trouble "with them. We have several boys of that kind, ranging from 14 to 18 or 20 years of age, to whom we pay "wages considerably in advance of Chinese wages. We "have tried the experiment, though, of employing other "boys whose parents were not there to look after them, "and it has been a failure. They would work a few "days and then stop and go off.

"Q. You say that you have employed some boys and "girls at higher wages than you give the Chinese. Why "do you pay them higher wages if their ability is the "same? A. I will say that, as a rule, whenever we can "get a white person, be he boy, man, or woman, who can "perform the duties of a Chinaman, we give them $5 a "month more than we pay the Chinamen for the same "labor.

"Q. Simply because you prefer to give a white man the "labor, if he can do it? A. Yes, sir. We prefer to do "so, provided we can do it and compete in the business.

"Q. And you do that at some pecuniary sacrifice? "A. We do it at pecuniary sacrifice.

"Q. Would your business of manufacturing have been "started, or now exist without Chinese labor? A. It "could not be carried on without it.

"Q. The work, then, that is being done would not "have been done at all? A. The work that is being "done would not have been done at all. If the China-"men were taken from us we should close up to-morrow.

"Q. You say the reason why you are compelled to "have cheaper labor than white is on account of the dif-"ficulty of competition in your business with Eastern "products? A. Yes, sir; that is the difficulty.

"Q. Does the difficulty arise in no degree from com-"petition here with other manufacturers? A. If there "was no competition with the East, and all the other "mills here employed this cheap Chinese labor, we should "have to do it too; but if we all agreed upon it here, and "there were no mills in the East, we could employ white "labor.

"Q. Does not the expense of transportation, &c., give "you the control of the market among your various mills "here? A. No, sir; it does not give us the control.

"Q. Then notwithstanding your cheap labor, you find "difficulty in competing with the mills in the East? A. "Yes, sir.

"Q. In this home market? A. In this home market."

Something has been said, in the testimony quoted above, regarding the manufacture of jute bagging in California. This industry has become prominent for the reason that it is the custom, as I believe, to ship wheat in bags from California, and not in bulk as is done in the Eastern States. My information is that ship-owners and insurers, looking to the length of the voyage to Europe, and the tempestuous nature of some portion of the seas to be crossed, have decided that the cargo put up in bags is less likely to shift than when in bulk, and have insisted upon its being so shipped. The tax imposed upon the producer is a heavy one, and of course whatever would tend to lower the cost of bagging would be of advantage to him. Beyond a doubt the manufacture of bags upon the spot has cheapened the cost of bagging at large in the San Francisco market, and the benefit to the farmer has been so direct and positive that, aside from all questions as to the kind of labor employed in their manufacture, the promoters of the industry should be considered public benefactors.

The following further evidence regarding this industry was given by Mr. Max Morganthau, a capitalist of San Francisco, who appears to have taken broad views in regard to home industries, to have made consistent efforts, extending over a long series of years, to promote manufacturing of different kinds, and to have invested largely in such enterprises;—[1]

"Q. How long have you resided in this State? A. "Twenty-seven years.

"Q. What is your business? A. For the last fifteen "years, manufacturing.

"Q. What manufacturing interests are you connected "with? A. I am interested in three manufactories—"the woolen mills, the jute factory, and the candle and "soap factory.

"Q. How long have you been connected with the jute "mill? A. Since it was in existence, six years.

"Q. How many bags do you make in that mill? A. "This year we run a little more than usual. We make "about 12,000 a day.

"Q. In previous years where did we get our bags? "A. They came from Scotland.

"Q. They are grain bags? A. Yes.

"Q. What is the capital stock of the company in the "jute business? A. Between $400,000 and $500,000.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 801.

"Q. Do you know the amount that we paid Scotland "for bags before you commenced manufacturing? A. "We must have imported last year from eighteen to "twenty million bags. My estimate may be a million "short; I cannot tell.

"Q. What did those bags cost here? A. I am not "posted; but I should think they must have cost ten "cents or eleven cents apiece.

"Q. How many bags are you manufacturing now to "supply the place of those? A. Within the past four "months we have run over-time, and we must have averaged not less than 12,000 a day.

"Q When we imported bags at ten cents, or eleven "cents, the aggregate amounted to $2,000,000 annually? "A. At least.

"Q. Do you work Chinese labor in the jute factory? "A. When we ordered the machinery, we ordered a "whole cargo of white people to come with it from Scotland; but they left us.

"Q. For what reason? A. When we engaged them "they thought they had a good thing, and when they "arrived it seemed they could do better.

"Q. What did you do then? A. We were compelled to shut up or employ Chinese labor.

"Q. You employed Chinese? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Is it not a fact in almost all the departments of "goods which we manufacture that we cannot get white "labor to enter into the manufacture of those goods to "any considerable extent to compete with the East? "A. I am sorry to say that there is too much truth in it. "We cannot get them."

In regard to another considerable industry, the manufacture of cordage, Mr. Henry C. Beals, editor of the *Commercial Herald*, of San Francisco, testified as follows;—[1]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 613.

"Q. I will ask you in reference to cordage. What is "the condition of that industry in this State, and the "amount of the manufacture? A. I would say that "about a year ago, at the invitation of Mr. Tubbs, who "is president and leading holder of the San Francisco "cordage factory, I went out and visited the factory with "him. I went all through it and saw the working of the "whole establishment. I am also familiar with it in other "ways. About a week or so ago, I met Mr. Tubbs and "spoke to him in regard to the factory. He took occa-"sion then to tell me, what I knew before, that they em-"ploy exclusively Chinese labor there. This was only a "fortnight ago. He told me that it was utterly impossi-"ble for him to manufacture cordage without Chinese "labor; that they had tried Chinese labor and were sat-"isfied that the employment of white people to manu-"facture cordage was a matter entirely beyond their con-"trol. Heretofore, until the establishment of this cord-"age factory, we imported our cordage almost entirely "from New Bedford. Since the establishment of this "factory, owing to the encouragement they have had, "there has been another factory started at Alameda, "which also manufactures cordage, and they also employ "Chinese. The result has been that now almost the "entire amount of cordage that is used here, is manufac-"tured by ourselves.

"Q. Could they compete with New York? A. No.

"Q. They sent it there and sold it at a loss? A. They "sent it there and sold it at a loss. They sent it there, "and bucked against them as we say.

"Q. Both of these factories employ Chinese? A. As "to the one at Potrero, I am not so sure, but I am quite "confident that the other one does.

"Q. Have you the imports for a year or two past? "A. The imports are here for a series of years, but the "increased consumption would probably explain it.

"Q. Read them, please? A. The imports of cordage "in 1871 were, 12,741 coils, 1,930 packages; in 1872, "11,337 coils and 2,535 packages; in 1873, 7,370 coils "and 1,766 packages; in 1874, 5,288 coils and 485 "packages; in 1875, 7,238 coils and 874 packages; which "shows a very large falling off. * * The consumption "of cordage on this coast approximates six millions and "a half pounds per annum. Now, nearly all that six "millions and a half pounds is manufactured here from "Manila hemp, imported in a rough state, mostly sent "from Manila to Hong Kong, and from there in the "steamers."

It would seem that the statement made by Mr. Beals, that the San Francisco cordage factory employed only Chinese, must be accepted with a reservation. Undoubtedly, the foremen would have been Americans, and no doubt as engineers, teamsters, &c., a considerable number of Americans must have been employed. A table prepared by Mr. Lessler, a witness before the commission, indicates that the works named employ 45 white men and boys, and 30 Chinamen; and that two junior enterprises of the same kind, but of less magnitude, were employing whites only.[1] Still another table, given in Mr. Brooks' brief, indicates that one of these two factories did employ Chinese, the number of employés being 33 whites and 30 Chinese.[2] A more careful inquiry would have shown, no doubt, that Chinese performed the simpler work of the given factories, and at less wages than the whites, and that these mills, like the woolen mills, were able to make in this way an average cost of labor, which would enable them to compete with cordage-makers elsewhere.

The information given in the report of the Congressional committee, in regard to the Chinese as cabinet-makers and box-makers, is meagre. Mr. Badlam, city assessor, stated in evidence, that about "350 are engaged "in making cigar-boxes."[1] Mr. James R. Rogers, an officer of police, detailed to give information and report upon the industries in which the Chinese were taking part, makes no mention of their employment in this branch. Mr. Lessler's table contains a list of box factories—packing, paper, tin, and for cigars—with a statement of the persons employed, which does not indicate that any Chinese whatever were so employed. The tables given by Mr. Brooks show, however, that in four cigar-box factories, 85 whites and 125 Chinese were occupied.[2] As these were not Chinese factories, and as the Chinese would, undoubtedly, enter upon this kind of enterprise for themselves, the whole number of them at such work may have been as great as Mr. Badlam estimated.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1212.

[2] Br. Br. Ap. D.

Regarding their employment as cabinet-makers proper both Mr. Badlam and Mr. Rogers are silent. Mr. Brooks and Mr. Lessler give lists of twenty establishments in which something more than 1,000 whites and about 70 Chinese were at work.

It will be seen that this industry, cigar-box making aside, has not attained to importance in California, and that the employment of Chinese in it is not extensive. In point of fact the native woods of the Pacific coast have not been found suitable for the manufacture of furniture, and wages have been too high to admit of competition with the factories of the Eastern States. It may be said with safety that 95 per cent. of all the furniture used is imported from the East, and the same is true, as I believe, of the carriages and wagons.

In the manufacture of candles and soap Mr. Lessler and Mr. Brooks agree in ennumerating three factories employing in all 29 whites and 68 Chinese.

[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 723.

[2] Br. Br., Ap. D.

This is an industry which should take large proportions in California, for the reason that tallow is produced in the State in large quantities. Mr. Morgenthau, to whose evidence in another direction I have already referred, gave to the committee a history of his experience in candle and soap making, and various facts bearing upon the trade, which are interesting.[1]

"Q. Up to a very few years ago did we not buy all "the candles from the East that we used on this coast? "A. To my great sorrow we buy them to-day from the "East.

"Q. Do we not send our tallow to Boston and the "East, and it is made into candles and sent back here? "A. Last year we shipped away from here several mil-"lions pounds of tallow. * * The amount (of candles) "our factory turns out now is about 60,000 boxes. An-"other factory here reaches 75,000 boxes, but I do not "believe that we use less than 600,000 or 700,000 boxes "a year.

"Q. Do you think we imported that number? A. "We import them now.

"Q. What is the value of the candles we imported "before you went into the business? A. I will take "the average of 100 boxes at $3 a box.

"Q. How many boxes do we import now? A. I "should think that we import to-day not less than five or "six hundred thousand boxes. I think that is a close ap-"proximate.

"Q. That would be $1,800,000 worth that we import "now? A. Not less than that.

"Q. Has not the business of making candles been open "to capitalists here for 20 years? A. Yes, sir; it is open "to everybody. It is not a paying business to-day. We "cannot compete.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 896.

"Q. Because you cannot get the tallow? A. We can "get plenty of it cheaper than in the East.

"Q. Do you employ Chinese in your manufactories? "A. Lately; but not all. There is no factory run on "this coast but that you may say 66 per cent. of the wages "goes to white labor. * * For instance here is my pay-"roll. When I started I had nothing but white labor, "and I will show the difficulty. I started in with girls "principally. (Exhibiting books.)

"Q. State how the pay-rolls run? A. When I "took them on the business, July 29th, 1871, I had not a "single Chinaman employed. All those I had employed "was one man here, $2 a day—a white man; another, "$1.50; another, $1.50; another man, $1. Here comes "again, $1.50. Now come the girls, 87½ cents a day "right along. So this pay-roll goes on. Now down "here again are some men, $2, $2, $2, $1.75, $2, $2, &c.; "$2.50; $2. This goes on up to December 2nd, 1871. "From then I started to put in a few Chinamen. The "reason was this;—As I have stated my man had no "capital. I went out every day to see what was going "on at the factory. I came out one morning and found no "steam up. I asked our people what was the matter. "'Well, the girls did not come to-day.' 'What is the "'trouble?' 'They got a holiday.' Said I, 'What holi-"'day? There is no holiday in the city.' They said "'Oh, well, we did not want to tell you. We stop very "'often. We have days here when we cannot work.' "Said I, 'Mr. Winters,'—that is the name of the superin-"tendent—'I will tell you what holidays I recognize in "'this place. I recognize Christmas, New Year's, Fourth "'of July, and you may give them St. Patrick's day and "'every Sunday, but any other holiday I have got "'to stop, because, you see, when these girls do not "'come all the rest of the work is stopped. We start

" 'up in the morning at five o'clock with the steam, and " 'and they do not give us notice, and do not come. " 'The coals are gone, and the other hands have to be " 'sent away. That thing must be stopped. If it is not " 'stopped I will shut up the factory.' * * Finally "they abandoned the premises. They would not work. "I had a soap man there. The soap man I paid $2.50 a "day. One day my man came in and said, 'Mr. Morgan-" 'thau, we have got to quit. There is no soap man. " 'The man is dead drunk. It is a dangerous business. " 'He may blow up our whole factory. Can you get " 'another one?' It is always the same thing when I "I start to do something. I have tried fifteen soap men, "but I have not got one for the last eighteen months. "It is a great risk to sacrifice the other men who are "there taking care of the machinery, so that in fact I "have not had one for the last eighteen months. There "are none here.

"Q. Look at your pay-roll to-day and state how it is? "A. I started in with Chinese. The first Chinese was "December 6th. I paid them $27. The whole pay-roll "is $287.30, of which the Chinese received $27. The next "week the Chinese labor was $30, and the whole pay-"roll was $290. This does not include the superintend-"ent. The following week the Chinese labor was $26.25, "and the pay-roll was $260.40.

"Q. State how it is now? A. To-day the pay-roll "is one white man, $5; one white man, $3.50; one white "man, engineer, $4.12½; one white man, $2; one white "man, $2.25; one boy, $1.50; Chinese boss, $1.25; Chi-"naman, $1; Chinaman, $1; Chinaman, $1; and so "on. The pay-roll to-day is $298. With $60 for the "superintendent, the whole pay-roll is $358, and out of "that the Chinese receive $162.

"Q. The reason you give for the employment of these

"Chinese is not on account of your getting them cheaper, "but on account of the unreliability of the white men "you had before? A. Exactly; I should keep white "labor any time. I have always given instructions, not "only in the candle factory but in the woolen mills, "wherever you can place white labor, as near as possible, "always give whites the preference.

"Q. Even at higher rates? A. If not too much. I "always prefer to give them the preference."

The recital of experience thus given will not seem singular to persons who are familiar with the conditions of labor in newly settled districts. Laboring men and operatives are unsteady in their habits of labor just in proportion as they do not feel the pressure of necessity. It is not too much to say, perhaps, that the same proposition could be predicated of men in all departments of life. With high wages, for such the wages of California are, and with many opportunities for employment open, the laborer regards hard work as a thing to be avoided, either by a choice of pleasanter employment or by the taking of frequent holidays. It is only when competition is close, and the difficulty of earning bread is great, that steady assiduity in one vocation is to be expected.

According to the tables given by Mr. Lessler and Mr. Brooks, there were three match factories in San Francisco, in 1876, in which 38 Americans and 25 Chinese were employed.

Mr. William H. Jessup, a manufacturer of matches, testified before the commission, as follows;—[1]

"Q. Have you had experience in the employment of "boys, girls, and Chinese? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. What have been the results of your experience? "A. The result of my experience with boys and girls "was very unsatisfactory.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 816.

"Q. What was the difficulty in the employment of boys? "A. They were unreliable, both in constancy to labor "and in their conduct about the factory. I never could "rely upon them to perform their work satisfactorily. If "I would leave them and go up the street, when I came "back I would find them throwing matches all over the "factory, and sometimes I would find them on top of the "building chasing each other over the roof.

"Q. How long did you try to carry on your factory "with boys? A. Something near a year. Before I went "to hiring Chinese labor, I hired white men. I set them "to work, and gave them good wages from the first. "They were dissatisfied. They were not satisfied to "take the rate we could pay to compete with imported "matches. We were compelled to hire labor as cheaply "as possible in order to produce the article in any way. "They would commence to work, and would expect to "make good wages from the first. If they could not, they "would be dissatisfied. For instance, in learning they "would probably not make even ten or fifteen cents a "day, and the Chinamen, now, practiced hands, would "make probably $3 a day, at the same rate we were then "paying for putting up matches.

"Q. From what class of people did your white men "come? A. The laboring class, as a general thing.

"Q. They were of no particular nationality? A. No; "none at all.

"Q. You had to take green hands altogether? A. I "had to take green hands altogether. There were no "instructed hands here, no artisans who understood the "business at all. Occasionally a man would come along "who understood manufacturing, but he would want $3, "or $4 a day, to begin with. I have two or three such in "the wooden department. I there make wooden boxes "to put the matches in. There I employ some half "dozen white men.

"Q. What was the next change you made? A. The "next change I made was to try girls in the packing of "matches and putting them up, and I found more diffi-"culty with them than with the boys, and could not do "anything with them.

"Q. From what classes did your girls come? A. The "poorer classes; laboring women.

"Q. What do you say was the difficulty with them? "A. They were unreliable, and they were dissatisfied "because they could not make good wages from the first.

"Q. In what respect were they unreliable? A. I "could not depend upon them. When I would show "them how to do a thing and go away and leave them, I "could not rely upon their doing it. They would not be "instructed. That was a difficulty I found with the boys. "It was utterly impossible to set them to work and give "them instructions that they would abide by. They "would make little changes to-day and little changes to-"morrow, and in a word, you would find them doing en-"tirely different from the instructions you gave them.

"Q. The boys you say would not stick to work? "A. They would not stick to work, and would destroy "the property, and it was the same characteristic in re-"spect to learning as with the girls.

"Q. How was it in reference to the girls? A. They "were always fooling and talking, and could not get their "minds down to business.

Q. What was the next change you made? A. The "next change I made was to hire Chinamen.

"Q. What was the result of that experiment? A. "The result of that was the building up of a factory to "the exclusion of the imported matches.

"Q. Did you carry on that business at a profit? A. "I did.

"Q. Did you carry on the business with either boys, "girls or white men at a profit? A. I never could have "succeeded. I am satisfied of that fact.

"Q. In what respect did the Chinese prove more advantageous? A. They were more attentive to their "business; there was no fooling or leaving of their work. "They would stay and work, and they were satisfied with "the wages that they made, depending all the while on "the facility in getting along faster, turning out more "work after a while, and they would learn. They would "follow instructions. You take a Chinaman, a green boy, "into your factory and show him just how to do a thing, "and if you leave him and come back, if it is a year afterward, you find him doing the work precisely as you instructed him. Whenever you have given him proper "instructions he will abide by those instructions."

The manufacture of brooms and broom brushes appears to be one of the very few industries which has been carried so far in California as to enable dealers to ship their goods to foreign ports in considerable quantities. The total number made in 1876 was about 70,000 dozens, and of these about 20,000 were sent to Australia, the Sandwich Islands, New Zealand, Peru and Chile. I understand from the evidence that the home market for brooms is wholly supplied by the local factories.

The Honorable Frank M. Pixley testified before the commission regarding this industry, as follows;—[1] "About "ten or eleven years ago my brother, who is a poor man "and a mechanic, engaged in the manufacture of broom "handles. He employed about six white workmen. "Their wages were from three to four and a half dollars "a day, according to their skill in running turning-lathes. "* * Shortly after he had gotten into the business "some one else established a factory and employed four "or five Chinese to work it. In a very short time these

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 567.

"Chinese became so expert in the manufacture that they "established the trade themselves, with one white man as "foreman. The capital required was not large, and the "result was that the six or seven Chinamen, under a "white man, took up the business. They were required "to keep a horse and wagon to dispose of their wares. "This horse was kept in a stable. The Chinese lived in "the same stable with the horse, fed and cooked for them-"selves in an upper loft, and slept there, and so reduced "the wages that much, thrusting in this particular in-"stance my brother out of his employment."

This would appear to have been the modest beginning of the business in California. It does not appear, however, that the competition of "six or seven" Chinese have kept all Americans out of the business, or that the capacity to live over a stable is the only factor involved affecting the ability of the two races to compete in the business.

Mr. Lessler and Mr. Brooks both give tables of the employment of artisans in this department. The latter enumerates five factories in which 115 men and 35 boys were engaged, but no Chinese.

It would seem to be true, however, that the Chinese have competed actively in the business. Mr. Robert H. Gillespie, a practical broom-maker, testified before the commission that "nearly every factory in the State em-"ploys Chinese."[1] The same witness testified further, however, that "there are some Chinese who make as "high as ten dollars a week manufacturing brooms by "the piece;" that whites earned at an earlier date as much as $26 dollars a week; that some at the moment were earning $15; and that the latter are so much more expert than the Chinese that they are able to make 400 brooms a week, of a kind of which the Chinese would make only 300; or 800 of another against 600.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 356.

Another broom-maker, Mr. Edward L. Cortage, testified that exclusive of Oregon, between 90 and 100 Chinese were engaged on the whole coast in the manufacture of brooms. The same witness said ;—[1] "According "ing to hearsay, in the big cities of the Union, the prices "were pretty nearly on an average all the time until "1869 or 1870, when Eastern prices came down a trifle. "Nowadays broom-makers are generally hired by the "month, and attend to everything, even on the farm. "The prices paid in St. Louis are exactly the same as "those paid here now; there might be a quarter of a "cent on some kinds of work more, or a quarter of a "cent on another kind of work less, but it is about the "same thing."

The inference from all this is, that the broom-makers of San Francisco have been obliged of late by the competition in their trade, a part of which has been that of Chinese, to work for less wages than formerly, but certainly not for less than Eastern broom-makers, and that a considerable industry has been built up in the State as a consequence, which otherwise would have languished, as manufacturing generally languishes, in the State.

The other special industries in which Chinamen in San Francisco were engaged in 1876, were the making of boots and shoes, of hats and caps, of cigars, of clothing and shirts, of lace and embroidery, and in laundry-work. As we have already seen, others were engaged in canning and preserving fruits and pickles, and a few seem to have been employed in and about glass-works, glue-works, and in powder-mills and tanneries and as tinsmiths. Such remarks as I have to make regarding their participation in these several industries are reserved for the next chapter.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 356.

PART II.—CHAPTER VII.

THE MATERIAL RESULTS OF CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA. SPECIAL INDUSTRIES.

The manufacture of boots and shoes. Testimony of Mr. Badlam, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Lessler, as to the number of Chinese employed. Wages paid to journeymen shoe-makers in 1871–1875. Prices of shoes reduced. Testimony of Mr. Gibson and Mr. Beals. California a leather producing State. Hats and caps. Manufacture of cigars, &c. Testimony of Mr. Beals. Two-thirds of the cigars used made in the State. Testimony of Mr. Morganthau. Number of Chinese engaged. Testimony of Mr. Rogers, Mr. Badlam, Mr. Lessler, Mr. Brooks and Mr. Muther. Wages of Chinese and Americans. Wages in California and the East compared. California tobacco. Advantage of home manufacture. Industries of the needle. Relative employment of the Chinese. Relative rates of wages. Woolen manufactures. Testimony of Mr. Morganthau. Shirt-making. Laundries. Testimony regarding number of Chinese employed. Lower rates for laundry-work has inured chiefly to advantage of poorer classes. Testimony of Mr. Babcock. Glass-works, glue-works, powder-mills, &c.

Mr. Badlam, assessor of the city of San Francisco, stated to the Congressional commission, as the result of official inquiry, that from 1,500 to 2,000 Chinese were engaged in making boots and shoes; and 1,000 more in making slippers.[1] Another witness, Mr. Rogers, an officer of police, stated that there were "eleven slipper manu-"factories in San Francisco, where large quantities of "this article are made, the main work being done by "men at the shop, and the finishing by Chinese women "at their homes during the day; in fact, nearly all of "this article is from Chinese labor."[2]

Speaking of shoes and gaiters in particular, this witness said;—"An immense amount of material is manu-

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 252.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1168.

"factured into merchandise of this nature. * * There "is no doubt but what eight-tenths of the ladies' and "children's gaiters and shoes, made in this city, are of "Chinese manufacture."

Another witness, Mr. Morris Lessler, presented to the commission a series of statistical tables, which he had compiled, after inquiry throughout the city.[1] From these it would appear that there were thirteen firms and associations engaged in the manufacture of boots and shoes; that six of these employed Chinese; that the number of Chinese so employed was 470, and of Americans, or persons of other nationalities not Chinese, 338; that in the seven other establishments, 574 Americans were engaged, and that about 1,500 Chinese were employed by Chinamen in the same line, or were working for themselves.

The business of shoe-making in San Francisco is one, therefore, which had already, in 1876, attained to considerable magnitude. The result was exactly what might have been expected; the cost of making shoes had been greatly lowered, and the reduced cost of manufacture had been followed by a considerable reduction in selling rates.

Mr. Charles L. Lancaster, a practical shoe-maker, appeared before the commission as the representative of a shoe-makers' association, and gave evidence regarding the rates paid for manufacturing which I tabulate as follows;—[2]

Kind of work.	Price per doz. in 1871.	1875.
Ladies, French kid boots............	$12 00	$ 9 00
" kid Balmorals...............	10 50	8 50
Men's, Oxford ties..................	10 50	8 50
" Neilson "	10 50	8 50
Ladies, 3x cloth, fox kid buttoned boots.	9 00	7 50

[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1211.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 341.

Kind of work.	Price per doz. in 1871.	1875.
Ladies, 1x cloth, kid buttoned boots...	9 00	5 50
" 1x Balmorals..................	8 00	5 50
" Imitation sewed	18 00	10 00
Misses, Neilson ties..................	9 00	7 00
" French kid 3x...............	9 00	7 00
Morocco leg, calf boots..............	28 00	14 00
French calf, top boots................	23 00	11 00
Second quality calf boots............	15 00	7 10

It will be seen that the reduction in the cost of the manual part of the manufacture ranged from 50 to 20 per cent.

As to selling rates, the Reverend Otis Gibson testified before the commission as follows ;—[1]

"Before we had much Chinese labor here, or any "manufacture of boots or shoes, we imported mostly "from Massachusetts. The money of California went "out of the State to the manufacturers of Massachusetts, "and every man paid 100 per cent. more for the boots and "shoes that he wore in this State, than he pays to-day. "The 750,000 or 1,000,000 men in California must pay the "500 or 1,000 shoe-makers in the State double price for "boots and shoes, or pay it to Massachusetts, or let the "boots and shoes be manufactured by cheaper labor. * * "Every man now gets his boots and shoes for less money "than he could get them by having to pay it to boot and "shoe-makers in the white trade."

Mr. Beals testified ;—[2]

"Formerly boots and shoes were brought here entirely "from Philadelphia and Massachusetts. Of course they "came from New York more or less, but since the establishment of Chinese factories here, the quantity brought "from there has diminished very materially. It was not "until the establishment of the Chinese boot and shoe

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 516

[2] Rep. Ch, Im., p. 618.

"factories that other people were drawn into the business. " * * The total importations it would be difficult to give because the size of packages is very "conflicting and there is no way of obtaining information "as to the number of dozen in a case."

While these declarations are not of the most definite sort, and I have no data by which I can compare with exactness the prices for which boots and shoes were sold at different dates, and determine the effect of local manufactures upon the market, it is entirely certain that consumers have been largely benefited. Throughout the Eastern States the Crispins' associations have done much to enhance the cost of manufacture. In California the competition between Americans and the Chinese has been open and direct. The Chinese in point of fact have carried the day until of late, and are still in the ascendancy numerically. Cheaper production gives in the long run of course cheaper prices, and local manufactures invariably break down greatly the prices of imported articles. California is, moreover, a leather producing State. In earlier days the leather made was shipped abroad or to the East, and some portion of it was returned in manufactured forms. The consumer had thus to pay, in the price of his purchases, the cost of two or more expensive shipments and of several commissions. It cannot be for his interest to do this, nor for the interest of the cattle-raiser who produces hides, for that of the tanner who prepares them, nor in the broadest sense for the interest of the country.

In regard to the manufacture of hats and caps, I have no information beyond what appears to be an estimate of the number of persons engaged in it, contained in Mr. Brooks' tables.[1] Accepting this estimate as more or less nearly correct, it would appear that in 1876 about 300 persons found occupation in the trade, of whom about 200 were Chinese. In the absence of more definite information it would be useless to make any comments upon it.

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[1] Br. Br., Ap., D.

Mr. Beals gave the following evidence before the commission as to the manufacture of cigars in San Francisco ;—[1]

"Within a few years the trade in cigars has entirely "changed. I could not tell the date, but within the last "eight years the business has changed very greatly. Up "to that time most of the cigars which were used on this "coast were either imported from Havana, or Manila, or "what we call American cigars coming from New York ; "but now probably two-thirds of all the cigars that are "consumed on this coast are made in this city. We not "only use California tobacco, raised below here, but we "receive from the East an immense quantity of Connec-"ticut and Kentucky seed leaf tobacco, which is sent "here in hogsheads and old dry goods boxes. It is "bought up to a very great extent by the Chinese, and "made into cigars to the extent of millions of dollars a "year. I have no doubt that two-thirds of all the cigars "consumed in this city are made here. They use some "Havana tobacco, but comparatively little. There is an "establishment on Washington street where they use "some very high cost Russian or Turkish tobacco ; they "will not give information or state the value per pound, "yet they consume considerable. Most of the cigars "made here are from the Connecticut leaf. We use some "Ohio and some Kentucky tobacco."

Mr. Morganthau testified ;—[2]

"I remember the time when they used to import every "cigar from the East. Of course Havana cigars come "here to-day, but they used to get our cigars from the

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 618.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 805.

"East. There was not a white man here making cigars, "and the result was that cigars were shipped from the East. "Afterward cigars were shipped from here to the East, "and we have done a great business, because of the Chinamen making the cigars here, we get them really in "proportion cheaper than they do East. But it seems "that the Eastern people would not stand that and they "have taken hold of the business, and that business "has stopped here for they cannot ship East because the "Eastern people can work equal with the Chinese here."

Mr. Rogers testified as follows;—[1]

"The number of cigars manufactured in the first Congressional district of California during the last year, "nine-tenths of which have been made in the city and "county of San Francisco and by Chinese labor, amounts "to one hundred and twenty millions five hundred and "ninety-eight thousand. This includes about six million "cigaritos. Deduct six million made by white labor, "and the balance one hundred and fourteen millions "five hundred and ninety-eight thousands remain."

The same witness estimated the number of Chinese employed in the business of cigar-making at 3,300. Mr. Badlam's estimate was 2,800;[2] Mr. Lessler's table gives about 3,200,[3] and Mr. Brooks', which is more in detail, about the same number.[4] Mr, Frank Muther, a cigar-maker, testified that the internal revenue-tax was paid on 9,300,000 cigars a month; and that it would take 3,000 Chinamen constantly at work to make them. He added to this computation an allowance of 500 for Chinese packers and strippers, and of 2,500 for those out of employment, making a total of about 6,000 following the trade.[5] The same witness stated that there were about 100 American cigar-makers in San Francisco, of whom 50 or 60 were at work.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1167.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 252.

[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1212.

[4] Br. Br. Ap. D.

[5] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 113.

It appears from these statements that the Chinese in California, employed by Americans, or by persons of their own nationality, make nearly all of the cigars which are manufactured there. It appears also that the industry was begun, practically, by Chinese, or with their assistance.

In this connection a statement made by the witness Muther is interesting. His information was, that nearly one-half the cigar-makers of Havana were Chinese; that many of them had become dissatisfied with their treatment and removed to San Francisco; and "that is the "reason we have got so many Chinese cigar-makers here."

The same witness testified that the average earnings of American workmen in San Francisco at the moment were about $11 a week, but that the Chinese would average only $6 a week.

It is to be regretted, perhaps, that there is any consumption of cigars in our country, for the habit costs our people a great deal and yields them few compensating advantages. But if tobacco is to be consumed it is undoubtedly better that the money which is expended should not go out of the country. In the present instance the evidence shows that more than 100,000,000 of cigars are made in San Francisco. To say nothing of cigars imported from abroad or from other States, which may cost as much more, these 100,000,000 would bring in the market an average of $20 a thousand, perhaps $30, or say from two to three millions of dollars. The wages of the men employed in making them would all, or very nearly all, be expended on the spot. This would amount to say one million dollars annually, and beside this considerable sums realized as profits by the importers of the raw material would also remain and add so much to the wealth of the community, or rather diminish by so much the drain of money out of the community.

To what extent cigars would be manufactured in California if there were no Chinese engaged in the business, and no competition on their part in the general market for labor, cannot be determined. The evidence is that the industry was begun with their assistance, and so far as we may judge it would not have taken any great proportions to this day in their absence. If one-third of all the cigars consumed in the State are imported, as it is, perhaps nine-tenths would have been if the Chinese factor had not been brought into play.

Mr. Beals, in the testimony which I have quoted, alludes to Californian grown tobacco. There is every reason to believe that the plant will find a congenial soil and climate among the numerous soils and climates with which the State is favored. The industry of growing tobacco, with the complementary industry of manufacturing it into forms demanded by the tastes of those who use it, may very well yield such results to the State as will make her citizens of two or three generations hence look back with surprise and astonishment at the hostility displayed in our time against the Chinese promoters of the interests involved.

The fullest information in regard to the participation of the Chinese in San Francisco in the different industries of the needle, is contained in Mr. Brooks' tables.[1] From them I extract the following statement ;—

Employment.	Men.	Girls.	Chinese.
Cloak-making................	...	100	...
Dress-making, about	...	1.000	...
Embroidering.................	...	....	28
Glove-making................	13	88	...
Lace-making..................	...	32	20

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[1] Br. Br., Ap. D.

	Men.	Girls.	Chinese.
Milliners, about	...	350	
Neckties	...	28	...
Sail-making	150	.....	...
Shirt-making	30	246	239
Clothing, mens'	558	884	620

Mr. Brooks states, further, in notes appended to his enumeration of the firms and associations engaged in making men's clothing and shirts, that a great many "other persons" "work by the piece outside," but he does not indicate whether among such persons Americans or Chinese are more numerous.

The foregoing table as it stands, indicates that 751 men, 2,728 girls, and 907 Chinamen find employment in the several industries named. Mr. Gibson's estimate for the same year was, 1,230 Chinese "sewing on machines," and 168 upon "clothing for Chinese."[1] Mr. Badlam stated in evidence before the commission that according to official information, 3,250 Chinamen were engaged in making "clothing, overalls, undershirts, etc."[2]

Mr. Levin Marshall, a journeyman tailor, testified before the commission, that there were in San Francisco, as he believed, about 100 American tailors, and 1,000 Chinese.[3]

Mr. Erric Westine, another witness, set down the number of American tailors at between 300 and 400, but offered no computation as to the Chinese.[4]

It seems probable then, that the number of Chinese so employed does not equal the number of white persons, men and girls; but it may be said with certainty, that Chinese competition in the making of men's clothes and shirts, has been active, and must have tended to break down the wages of the whites in those special directions, and to an extent in all needle-work.

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[1] Ch. in Im., p. 59

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 252.

[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 352.

[4] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 354.

Mr. Marshall stated the result of this competition as follows;—

"I used to get $9 a dozen for boys' pants, and now I "make them for $5.50; for men's, I used to get $15, and "now I get $6.50 to $7.50." The accuracy of his evidence becomes doubtful, however, in view of his further statement;—"The whites make men's pants for $9, when "they used to get $15 for them. You cannot go idle "altogether, and must do something."

The same witness, when asked the difference between the prices of clothing in California and in the Eastern States, answered that they were making clothes in California, with Chinese labor, cheaper than in the East, but acknowledged that clothing was imported from the East.

Mr. Westine testified that journeymen tailors worked by the piece, and that their earnings averaged $15 to $20 a week, "when they have work." In response to a question as to the relative rates paid in San Francisco and New York, he said;—"The prices in New York are "reduced about the same as here."

It is very evident, however, that the competition of Chinese has not been able to break down the cost of making men's clothing to the level of the cost in the East. It is only a few years since all such clothing was imported into the State. In 1875, according to Mr. Morganthau's evidence;—[1] "From eight to ten millions of dollars "worth of clothing was imported. We send our wool "from here to the East. Our factories use up from "2,000,000 to 2,500,000 pounds of wool out of a gross "produce of from 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 pounds. We "pay the expense of shipping the rest of that wool to "the East by railroad. The goods are made up there "and come back here. We have taken all the trouble to

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 803.

"make people understand that we can make as good an "article here as there is anywhere in the world. The "best proof of that is that we supply the government of "the United States with our goods here. That is the "only resource that we have got. There are two woolen "mills that turn out not less than $3,000,000, or could do "so very easily, but the goods are all imported. I understand that there were three boys' clothing manufactories "started here, and they had to abandon them; they "could not get hands; it was an utter impossibility."

Certainly, when one considers the condition of this special branch of the industries in question, the making of men's clothes, the matter for surprise is that the competition of the Chinese should be regarded as otherwise than beneficial. If Californians were asked the simple question;—Has it not been fortunate in a variety of ways, that of late years you have been able to order your clothing made on the spot, fortunate for you individually as securing your convenience and your pecuniary interest; fortunate for the State as working up materials produced and manufactured in the State, and as giving employment to your people?—there could be, as I think, but one answer retnrned. Yet it appears to be entirely overlooked that the condition of the given industry, regarded by itself, and regarded as a part of the general industries of California, has been brought about in a great measure by the Chinese. The one sole proposition which has appeared to engross the attention of working people and of public men, is the declaration that the competition of Chinese keeps white men out of the avocation. That it has this effect is not to be denied altogether, but the force of the proposition is vastly weakened when we remember that the industry would not have existed in its present large measure, if it had not been for the patient working of the Chinese.

The same general tenor of remark may be followed in speaking of the shirt-making interest. It would seem that 30 men, 246 women, and 239 Chinese are employed in this industry, besides those who work in their own houses. We may judge that many men, women and Chinese do work at home. Can there be any doubt that the Chinese participate in the industry only because the pay of women in California, in all the branches which they fill, is high. The woman as a domestic servant, commands from $20 to $30 a month. This, including board and lodging, means that she receives more than a dollar a day for her services. Is it astonishing then that some few Chinese, adepts as they are with the needle, should share the business with women? Is it not almost wonderful that the industry existed at all while wages were so high, and is it not certain that if women can do more than half the work of shirt-making in San Francisco, now, they will do it all when wages fall to the rates which prevail in the Eastern States?

A certain adaptability of the Chinese for needle-work is indicated by the fact that the only professional embroiderers in San Francisco are Chinese, and that out of 52 persons engaged in making lace, 29 are Chinese. Nevertheless the tables of Mr. Brooks show that the cloak-makers, the dress-makers, the glove-makers, and the milliners are all women, and that the number of women so employed is about double that of the number of Chinese engaged in needle-work of all kinds.

In this connection I may quote the language of a witness before the Congressional commission, Mrs. Anna F. Smith, a widow, and dependent upon her own hands for a livelihood;—[1]

"Q. Have the Chinese invaded the domain of female

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 899.

"labor in this city? A. I suppose they have in a gen-"eral sense.

"Q. What effect has that had upon upon the working "women? A. It has reduced the prices of their labor "or the opportunity for them to get labor.

"Q. Has it thrown many of them out of employ-"ment? A. Not to my certain knowledge.

"Q. But to your general knowledge? A. I cannot "say to my general knowledge, except as I read in the "newspapers, and hear persons speaking who are op-"posed to the Chinese."

The number of Chinese laundry-men in San Francisco, in 1876 was estimated by Mr. Badlam at 1,200.[1] Mr. Rogers said;—[2] "There are about 300 laundries scat-"tered throughout the city, averaging five men each. "Some of these establishments employ double sets of "hands and run day and night. It may be safely said "that there are 1,500 men employed, exclusively Chinese, "in Chinese wash houses in this city, while as many more "are employed at the larger establishments of the same "nature, which are carried on by white management. "Not less than 3,000 men are employed in this business "alone." Mr. Brooks' tables indicate that there were about 50 laundries which employed 500 women and 300 Chinese, and about 1,400 more Chinese were employed in Chinese-owned laundries.[3] Mr. Gibson's estimate of of the whole number of chinese washer-men was 3,500.[4]

I shall not extend remarks in this connection further than to point out that, as the washing of clothes is not a productive industry, and its cost is one of the charges of living, it is an object that it should occasion as little drain upon the pecuniary resources of the community as possible. So far as the Chinese, all things considered, work more cheaply than others, the saving to the community is direct and positive.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 251.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1168.

[3] Br. Br., p. 107.

[4] Ch. in Am., p. 59.

It would seem further that a large measure of the advantage derived in this way has inured to the classes who have most occasion to live economically. Mr. William F. Babcock testified before the commission that the Chinese "do the washing for all the mechanics;"[1] and again;—"I think this very employment of the Chinese "in laundry-work causes mechanics to change their "clothing much oftener than they did when they paid a "high price for their washing. Take the tops of these "houses where the Chinese laundries are, and look at "the lines of ragged clothes, old red shirts, pantaloons, "and every ordinary, common thing, garments that I do "not believe were washed half as much before, and that "were not even fit for a woman to wash.

"Q. Were there any women engaged in the business "here before the Chinese? A. That I do not know "anything about. Domestics do that work now, but to "what extent I do not know. I have a laundry-woman "in my house.

"Q. You do not understand me. I want to know "whether there were any women engaged in the business "of keeping wash-houses on the streets and seeking "clothes to wash, the work that the Chinese are doing "now? A. Not of any consequence. There were some "few French laundries.

"Q. Is not the great part of the support of these "Chinese wash-houses from the poorer classes of people, "who are thus relieved from doing their own washing? "A. I think so.

"Q. Is not the washing of the more wealthy classes "generally done in their houses, by white servants? A. I "think so."

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 713, 817.

Evidence to the same effect was given also by Judge Campbell.[1]

The number of Chinese employed in glass-works, glue-works, and in tanneries, in San Francisco, is so small as to suggest the idea that their duties are those of supernumerary laborers rather than skilled artisans. In powder-mills a greater number are engaged. Mr. Brooks shows that two companies employ, together, 28 whites and 80 Chinese. Mr. Lessler states, in this connection, that the secretary of one of these associations informed him that they employed the Chinese for minor purposes, "in coopering, and in filling cartridges, as the fumes are "very dangerous to the health, killing any ordinary white "man within two years."

The number of tinsmiths in San Francisco was estimated, by Mr. Brooks, at 300 whites and 70 Chinese. I find no comment upon their participation in this industry in the evidence taken before the Congressional committee. It would seem likely that their work is done for their own people, from whom the demand for tin vessels to be used in the mines, for household purposes, &c., would be considerable.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 735.

PART II.—CHAPTER VIII.

THE MATERIAL RESULTS OF CHINESE LABOR IN CALIFORNIA. DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

The Chinese are good servants. Testimony of Mrs. Swift, Judge Heydenfeldt, Mrs. Avery, Mrs. Smith, Judge Lake. Personal testimony of author. Difficulty of procuring servants in California. Testimony of Judge Hastings. His views challenged. The scarcity of servants due to lack of supply and not to their unsatisfactory treatment by employers. Wrong ideas about the Chinese taught by some persons of intelligence and high position. Judge Hastings' ethnological disquisition. His views about the six companies. Mr. McLennan's testimony. High praise of Chinese as servants. White girls will not go into the country. Testimony of Mr. Brier, Col. Hollister, and Mr. Morganthau. No surplus of working women in California. Number of Chinese servants in city and State. Housekeepers would deplore the removal of the Chinese.

Whether the Chinese make good servants is a question which has been variously answered in California. My own observations and experience in China and in California would lead me to respond without hesitation in an affirmative sense. As I desire, however, to speak upon this part of my subject, as upon all others, with all the authority possible, I shall place the tenor of the evidence taken by the Congressional committee, and other evidence, briefly before my readers and leave them to decide whether my opinion is well grounded.

In the index of the Congressional report will be found, at page 1277, the entry, "Chinese as domestic servants." The substance of the testimony referred to under this head, both that for and against Chinese servants, is given in the following extracts.

The first witness indicated was Mrs. Sophronia Swift, who was called, as I judge, by the counsel against the Chinese. She testified as follows ;—[1]

"Q. Do our people generally employ Chinese as "domestic servants? A. Among my acquaintances "almost all have Chinese servants.

"Q. Is your acquaintance pretty extensive? A. I "have a large circle of acquaintances, and I have had a "pretty good opportunity to learn where there were "Chinese servants. I have been for two years a solicitor "for insurance. I have gone to a great many private "families, and almost always the answer to the bell was "by a Chinese servant.

"Q. What is the price of wages here of a white domestic servant-girl? A. I have never asked for a situation myself, but I have given them from $15 to $25.

"Q. A good cook, how much? A. They would "range from $30 in a private family, to $40 where they "have considerable work.

"Q. What does the Chinaman work for as a domestic "servant? A. They work from $1 up to $50 and "$60. In many families they are considered finer cooks.

"Q. They are paid, then, in accordance with their "capacity as servants? A. They are considered by "some people, better cooks because they attend to just "one branch. The Chinese when they work, work at one "industry. They are not like our working girls. If a "Chinaman goes into a family to cook, he says, 'Me no "'do chamber work, me do cooking.' If a woman goes "into a house she has got to do sewing, all the housework, take care of the little boys and girls, and do the "washing and ironing. Chinamen do one branch. "They do the cleaning, or else they do the housework. "I am speaking of families who keep more than one "Chinaman in the house.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 244.

"Q. They are used as servants, from the cellar to the "garret, as cooks and chambermaids and nurses? A. I "suppose they are.

"Q. Do they not make pretty good house servants? "A. They do not.

"Q. Are they not faithful? A. They are not.

"Q. Do they retain their places long? A. Not generally, some of them. Where they have plenty of "chances to steal, and get high wages, and get the "confidence of people, they are like a great many other "people, they want to keep their places.

"Q. Have you employed Chinese? A. I have.

"Q. Do you speak from experience? A. I speak "from experience in my own house, and in my neighbors' houses, and from the reports in the newspapers, "and my associations with business men. I have been "eight years a business woman, and I have heard men "whom I can believe tell their experience of Chinese "servants and of white women."

The next evidence referred to in the index is that of Judge Heydenfeldt. His testimony was as follows;—[1]

"Q. Is not their character, as domestic servants, generally praised by every one of your acqaintances? "A. Yes; I have heard nothing to their disadvantage "upon that score, nor, indeed, upon any other in regard "to their labor. As far as concerns their industry, and "their frugality, and general intelligence, and their cleanliness, I think those who have been in the habit of "employing them, and know something about them, "place them above the corresponding class of other "people."

The next evidence is that of Judge Campbell;—[2]

"Q. Do you treat them as house servants any different from any others? A. Precisely the same.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 505.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 733.

"Q. How is it in regard to the trust and confidence "that you repose in them? A. I have always reposed "the same confidence in them that I have in any others. "I have one white man, a white woman, and a Chinese "boy generally. That has been my average for the last "nine years. I treat them all alike.

"Q. Comparing servants with servants, how do they "compare?" A. I prefer the Chinese to any others.

"Q. In what respect are they preferable? A. They "are more quiet, they are more systematic, they are very "cleanly, and very intelligent; and when there was a "press of matter, such as another servant leaving, or "sickness in the house, or anything of that kind, when "extra work was required to be done, I have found them "very ready to take their share of that extra work.

"Q. What has been your experience with them in "respect to their honesty? A. So far as my personal "observation goes, I have never had occasion to distrust "any of those who have been in my employ. They have "had free access to pretty much everything.

"Q. What is your experience in regard to their faith-"fulness to work when you are absent, or when they are "not watched, and as to the necessity of watching them? "A. I have already given you the extent of my experi-"ence, but from that little experience I should judge that "they were very faithful."

The next evidence is that of Mr. Francis Avery, who had been a resident of California for several years, and had been brought into contact with the Chinese in various ways. His testimony regarding their character as servants was as follows;—[1]

"Q. Have you employed them in your family? "A. Yes, sir.

"Q. How have you found them as house servants? "A. All that could be desired.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 844.

"Q. Trustworthy and competent? A. Entirely trust-"worthy and competent.

"Q. And honest? A. And honest. I had one "servant temporarily in my employ when I had some "friends visiting me, who was a little dishonest, but he "was the only exception.

"Q. Have you trusted them, in the absence of your "family, with the care of your house and valuables? A. "Yes, sir; I have left everything in the house in their "charge, open.

"Q. Are they cleanly in their persons? A. Re-"markably so.

"Q. Do they ever talk impudently to your family? "A. I never knew but one to do that, and he was a "cook. My experience with cooks is that if they are "good they are usually impudent.

"Q. Do they claim privileges at night and by day "through the week? A. Not greater than those "claimed by other servants.

"Q. You live in the city? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. How extensively are Chinese employed in the "capacity of domestic servants in the city? A. That I "cannot answer, only to say to a very large extent.

"Q. Why are they employed? A. Because they "make better servants.

"Q. Do you think it is on account of their quality as "servants that they are given employment? A. Yes, "sir; I am sure of that because, as far as I am able to "find out, the wages paid to them are the same as the "wages paid by persons employing white servants.

"Q. Is there difficulty in getting white female ser-"vants in this city? A. There is difficulty, I under-"stand, in getting good ones; but there is that same dif-"ficulty in the East. There is an abundance of white "servants and plenty of them get employment.

"Q. I understand that the Chinese are emplobed ye- "cause of their character as servants? A. Yes, sir; "in fact, in many cases, I may say, I have heard of people "who employed them for no other reason, people who did "not like the Chinese, and were prejudiced against them.

"Q. What is your impression as to the trust reposed "in them by people? Do they leave their houses with "the Chinese in charge during their absences, with as "much freedom as they leave their homes with other "servants in charge? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Is there or is there not as much trust reposed "in their integrity as in white servants? A. I think "there is.

"Q. Do you think that they are as free from the "charge of petty stealing as white servants? A. Yes, "sir; my experience in that respect shows them to be "fully as trustworthy as the generality of white serv- "ants."

Mrs. Anna F. Smith testified;—[1]

"Q. Have you had any experience with Chinese "servants in this city or coast? A. I have not had any "special experience with them; that is, I have not em- "ployed Chinamen since I have been in California.

"Q. When did you employ them? A. I lived in "Colorado two years, in business for myself, and then I "employed a number of Chinamen at different times.

"Q. How did you find them as servants in Colorado? "A. I found them honest, truthful, fair and straightfor- "ward in their dealings with me on all occasions.

"Q. Have you had any experience here, where you "have lived or come in contact with them, as servants? "A. I have seen them in the houses of my friends as "servants and I have seen them in houses where I have "been working and living.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 897.

"Q. Is there any complaint in reference to them as "servants, or what is their reputation as domestic servants? A. Their reputation varies. Chinamen as "servants vary as much as whites, that is relatively to "each other. Chinamen are good servants and there are "poor servants among Chinamen; but I think my experience is that they compare favorably with whites. As "far as regards some white persons whom I have hired I "should prefer them. I always prefer them, and I have "hired both.

"Q. Are there many Chinese servants in Colorado? "A. No, sir; not any great numbers.

"Q. What employments are they in, there, generally? "A. A few are employed as house servants, but the "greater number are carrying on laundries for themselves.

"Q. What do they pay them, there, as house servants? A. Their prices there are the same as the whites "so far as I know. I paid them the same wages that I "paid to white persons."

The next and the last witness cited in the index as speaking in regard to this subject was Judge Delos Lake, one of the most prominent lawyers of San Francisco. His evidence was as follows;—[1]

"Q. Are there many Chinese servants in this city? "A. Yes, I think so, but not so many as there were formerly. I have had them in my house. I do not remember exactly what the vote of my household on the "subject is, but I rather think against them, because ——

"Q. You left an answer incomplete. A. I think "they were mostly young boys, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen or twenty years old; and were used as a kind of "assistant to the cook, &c. I think their labor was abandoned because their words were not very good. They "make an engagement and leave very unceremoniously.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1013.

"It was for that reason, more than for anything else, I "think, that their labor was finally abandoned. So far as "my observation goes they are not a truthful people. "You cannot rely upon their words at all."

The evidence thus adduced is decidedly favorable, in the main, to the Chinese as servants. It is by no means all that is contained in the testimony given before the Congressional commission, but I believe that it represents fairly the tenor of the whole. As I said in opening this chapter the selection of evidence is that of the person who compiled the index of the book which contains the report of the committee and the testimony given before it. I have accurately reproduced what the given witnesses said, and it seems unnecessary to go further. As a matter of course all servants are not good servants, and as a matter of course the best of them could not please some employers. I do not believe that Asiatic servants are likely to be as good as those of European or American origin, for the reason that their education is not such as to enable them to appreciate perfectly the wants, wishes, or peculiarities of their employers. I should be sorry to think that the moral education of Europeans or Americans is no better than that of Asiatics, or that Europeans and Americans do not exhibit the results of better training in whatever spheres of life they may be placed. That the Chinese do very well as servants, nevertheless is not to be doubted. I can speak personally of the devoted attention of a Chinese boy when I was suffering from a long and tedious sickness which brought me, while away from home and away from all persons of my family, to the verge of the grave. More anxious and unremitting service no person could have rendered. During the years which have passed since, the same servant has been my constant attendant and trusted with everything which is ever trusted to one in his position.

My own experience is not different as I believe from that of many other persons who have lived long in China.

And indeed how could it be otherwise. Are not these people endowed in all respects with the same faculties and affections as ourselves? Do they not exhibit among themselves all the domestic virtues? Are they not frugal, industrious, orderly and painstaking? Why then, when carefully taught, as they must be if they are to understand our wants and how to satisfy them; when well paid and considerately treated, should they not become useful servants? It appears to me, in point of fact, that it would be impossible to find any race or class of people on the whole face of the earth, not of our own stock, so eminently well qualified by temperament and habits of life to take the place of servants in American homes.

The great boon which the Chinese have been to housekeepers in California, can only be appreciated when a further statement is made of the difficulties which have been met there in procuring servants other than Chinese. It is to be remembered that the State is not only young, but that it is distant from the sources of supply. Of the thousands of immigrants from Europe who land upon our shores in each year, but few in any department of life reach that most distant part of our territory, and fewer in proportion of this class than of any other. They are women as a rule and they cannot well undertake the long journey by sea or by land. The class is not one which is so well-to-do that its members may choose such a destination. It is not to be doubted that it has been more difficult to procure white servants in California than in the newly settled regions of the northwest, to which access is more easy, although the wages paid there have been much lower.

In order to elucidate this point more perfectly, I quote again from the testimony given before the Congressional committee. In doing so I shall take the evidence which is classed in the index under the following heads: "Scarcity of Servant-girls;" "Experience with Servant-"girls," and "White Girls as Servants," and quote it in full, or sufficiently so to correctly indicate its tenor.

The first testimony indexed is that of Judge Hastings, a well known citizen of San Francisco, and an old Californian.[1] It is as follows;—

"Q. It has been stated here that it is impossible to "get white labor for house purposes in this country, and "that those places have been filled by Chinamen. Have "you kept house? A. I have kept several houses in "the last twenty-five years. I have now three or four "ranch houses.

"Q. Can you get white household servants? A. No, "sir. The reason has been stated by the reverend gentle-"man, (Mr. Brier), who testified a while ago, and the "reason is a very good one, Catholic servants do not "desire to go to the country. The reverend gentleman "spoke of Catholics alone, but then there are a great "many other girls in this country, thousands and thous-"ands of them, who would go to the country, and would "become servant girls if it was made as honorable as in "other countries. I know that servant girls in the Northern "States are treated comparatively with a great deal of "respect; they are treated as members of the family, and "treated kindly. Girls in Iowa will stay and work for "eight and twelve dollars a month in preference to com-"ing to California to be treated as Chinamen. They will "not stand these things here. These are American girls "I speak of. I do not know if that is the reason why all "our girls do not take to employment, for instance in "washing or in cooking, but I think it is. I think if we "had no Chinamen, and if we would make washing and

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 595.

"cooking the honorable business that it ought to be "made, as honorable as any other business in the world, "our girls would take to that kind of employment in "preference to wandering over our streets and falling into "vicious life."

It occurs to me in reading this extract that the witness has allowed his theory to carry him too far. There is no reason, as I think, to believe that all the families in the country towns of California, in the mining districts and on farms would fail to treat their much needed servants with reasonable consideration. I feel sure that many do treat their Chinese servants quite as well as persons in that grade of life generally are treated. If the latter are indeed dealt with as an inferior race by many persons in California, the fault is one for which men of the class of Judge Hastings are in a large degree responsible, for they have encouraged the disposition to deride and denounce the Chinaman, and have taugh unthinking people, and the rising generation to look down upon them as a degraded and degrading element of the population. The difficulty of procuring servants to go into the country is one, I take it, which exists everywhere in our land, but certainly in a greater degree in more remote districts, and in a greater degree in California than anywhere east of the Rocky Mountains for the reason that servant-girls are fewer, and also because they are, as I think, rather more exacting in California than elsewhere, sharing in this respect the habit of all persons of the white laboring class in the State.

In saying that men of Judge Hastings' class have taught wrong ideas about the Chinese, I do not speak unadvisidly. I shall not stop here to discuss this proposition at large, but I think it well to quote some portion of the language which this gentleman used before the committee, in proof at least of his attitude;—[1]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 586.

"My opinion is, and I speak from the highest authority, "that the Chinese are almost another species of the *genus* "*homo*. I do not think that they are another species, "but they are a very wide variety. They vary from the "Aryan, or European race; their divergence is very wide. "I think they vary so much that the offspring of the "Chinaman, united with the American race would be "unfertile, or would be imperfectly fertile. I speak from "the highest authority. It has been established in "modern times. The formula among all modern philosophers is, that where in organic life what is called a "morphological species of the same class unites with a "morphological species of the same class, which species "vary very greatly, the offspring is, as laid down, unfertile, and if not unfertile, is very imperfectly fertile. "That is the formula. That is agreed now to be the "truth by all ethnological philosophers of the present "age. I do not say that the Chinaman is of another "species, but he is a variety that, for a good many "reasons, diverges from the American citizen so widely "that the offspring of these two varieties, as I have said "before, would be, I have no hesitation in saying, imperfectly fertile if not mules."

Having thus declared that essential differences existed between members of the human family, created by one God, and nourished originally in adjacent districts of the Asiatic continent, the learned judge proceeds to lay down a further proposition which the progress of our inquiry will enable us to pronounce equally unfounded. I refer to his declaration that the Chinese in the United States are peons. His language is as follows;—"Chinese "labor is a servile caste. The Chinaman is in a state of "peonage. They are in a state of peonage; they are "not freemen."

When pressed to define what he meant by peonage, the witness said further;—"They have to pay, first, the "commissions due to the persons who engage them, and "then to the companies who take care of them. He "belongs to the great companies until he does that. "They order him to go here and there; thay see he is "not starved; they see that he is fed, and that he is "employed. It is a very elegant organization; it is "really beautiful, and hence it is you never hear of these "people being beggars."

Mr. Donald McLellan testified;—[1]

"I will say that since the agitation of this Chinese "question here within the last six months, it has been a "very difficult matter for any one to hire white help, "more so than ever before. What the actual cause or "reason of it is, I do not know; but my own impression "is that if it were not for the Chinese boys, as they are "called, the Chinese servants we have in our houses, instead of paying an Irish woman, a good cook, etc., $25 "and $30, we would have to pay what I did when we "first came here, from $40 to $50 a month. I speak "now of my own knowledge. A good Chinese servant "can do twice the work of any white servant woman you "can have here. He will do house work better and do a "great deal more of it. So far as my observations go, "Chinese servants here are not high servants. They do "not work by the hour, eight hours a day, but they work "at all times and are willing. That is my experience. "I have a Chinaman in mind now, who was employed "two years in my daughter's family, and he did the work "of two servants.

"Q. Do you know whether any American born girls "are acting in the capacity of house servants? A. I "do not think that an American born girl would work "out in California for any wages.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 621.

"Q. Do you see a good many Chinese boys doing all "the work of a family? A. Yes, sir. I hear our friend "Pixley employs them.

"Q. Do you think good white girls, who will do the "whole work of a family are to be found? A. No, it "is impossible to get them. American born girls, be "they of Irish parentage or otherwise, as a general thing "will not go out to service. Two weeks ago I was in "Crosett's establishment on Clay street, waiting to employ a servant, and while sitting there two persons came "in and wished servant girls to go into the country. "Crosett replied ;—'There is no use to say anything to "'any of them'—there were thirty or forty in the room— "'you cannot hire a white girl to go into the country.'

"Q. What do you mean by the country? A. I "mean the interior.

"Q. Do you mean to say there are not a great many "good girls in the interior? A. I only tell you the "reply Crosett made to those two gentlemen. He said; "—'It is no use; you cannot hire a servant girl to go "'into the country and work.'

"Q. Have you traveled about the State? A. I have.

"Q. Did you ever see a white servant girl in any isolated farm-house away from town? A. I never have.

"Q. By the interior you mean away from villages "where there are churches? A. This party wanted servants to go to Chico, which is quite a large town; but they "would not go there. Of course they will go to Sacramento and Stockton, and some of the interior cities, "but outside of any large place you cannot induce them "to go; their faces are set against it. That is an admitted fact, I believe.

"Q. It there were not Chinese in California is it not "fair to suppose that we would be able to get white servants here? A. It costs a good deal of money for "that class of people to come here, and unless money is "sent to them, or loaned to them, they will not come. "It is a great distance from their homes. Undoubtedly "there are a great many Germans, Irish and other nation-"alities who come to New York. Every ship that comes "brings them, and they bring them across the Atlantic "for $10. To come to California costs $100.

"Q. Do you not think one of the causes why Amer-"ican and white girls will not take employment is be-"cause of the presence of the Chinese here? A. No, "sir; I think American or white girls are above the bus-"ness of going out. They prefer to be educated. They "all want to be ladies; they want to be considered as "such."

The Rev. Mr. Brier testified;—[1]

"Q. Do you know whether white girls can be obtained "to fill the places of house servants in the country? A. "I think they cannot possibly be obtained. The Catho-"lic girls do not like to go to the country because they "have not got their churches. and they will not stay. It "used to be, before we had any Chinese servants in the "place, almost impossible to get girls or any servants to "go to the country. We had to depend upon Indians "and such classes of people.

"Q. Do you know whether or not it is difficult to "obtain white girls to do all the work of small families? "A. It is very difficult in the country.

"Q. In the city it is difficult? A. I do not know "about the city.

"Q. Who are house servants generally? A. They "are generally Chinese, in the country.

"Q. In the city? A. I do not know.

"Q. In the ordinary capacity of maid-of-all-work "have you ever seen an American born woman? A. I

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 572.

"never knew but one in California, and that was in my "own neighborhood, and she was rather living there as a "home, but received wages."

"Colonel Hollister testified;—[1]

"Q. Are the Chinese employed as house servants "generally in the country? A. There is nothing else "we can employ. I have been in Santa Barbara seven "years and I have sent as many as ten times to San "Francisco for women. They come and stay about two "weeks. I pay their passage down—ten, fifteen, or "twenty dollars; there are various changes in the rate. "We cannot do anything with them after they come.

"Q. What is the objection to going there? A. It "is in the country and they are not quite near enough to "the cities and towns. It is an objection to the religious, "I suppose, on account of their going to church, and I "suppose they do not have as many sweethearts as they "like. I cannot say what their motives are. I only "know the fact that they will not stay.

"Q. As a matter of fact they are not willing to go "into the country as house servants? A. No, sir; there "is no use talking about it; they will not stay at all. It "is Chinamen or nothing.

"Q. What would be the effect upon the country peo"ple if they were deprived of Chinamen as house serv"ants? A. It would be very disastrous. I cannot tell "how we would get along. I think the thing would re"sult in about this, that every farmer would cease hiring "labor and the family would do just what it could do."

Mr. Morganthau testified;—[2]

"I think we must have four to five thousand Chinese "employed in our private families. I have not any in "the house, never had one, and would not have one my"self as a servant. If you should take them away from

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 773.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 811.

"their employment in families I believe all our ladies "would try and beg of them not to leave this country, "and they would say we cannnot get along without them, "When you come to this point I will give you my experience. Since the 4th of July last"—the evidence was given in November—"I have had about twenty girls in "my house. I pay $35 a month to the cook and $25 to "the girl up stairs. I have had not less than twenty-"four if not more since that time. Out of these four or "five had to be carried away. I had even to send for "the police to get them out."

After reciting various experiences with white servants indicative of their exacting demands for privileges and their lack of steadiness, the witness proceeded ;—

"I want to prove that our labor has not been de-"creased ; that we are scarce in girls to-day, and good "girls. You can send for two thousand ladies, the best "ladies here, and they would make the same statement "to you. It shows that we are not overcrowded with "good girls."

The next and last reference in the index to white girls as servants in California, is to testimony of Mr. Avery. As his evidence has been quoted in an earlier part of this chapter, I do not need to repeat it here.

It will be seen from the evidence thus adduced that Chinese servants in California are pronounced by competent witnesses to be satisfactory in a marked degree, and that the supply of women is declared, in a not less positive way, to be inadequate to the demand. While this is true, measurably, in reference to employment in the city of San Fransisco, the evidence shows further that the very greatest difficulty is met by persons living in country villages, and throughout the interior generally, in procuring women as household servants, and that resort to the Chinese is not a matter of choice but of necessity.

It is idle to put forward declarations that there is a surplus of women, as workers, in California. So long as those who are not fitted for special occupations are able, in the city and in the country, to obtain places in which their food and lodging is provided for them and they are paid from $20 to $40 a month as wages, there can be no suffering among the members of the class who are willing to work.

My own experience in one single instance is not without significance in this connection. Upon a recent visit to California an excellent Irish maid who had been in my family for many years, asked for her discharge in order to visit her old home. This was given to her, and in consideration of her long service a sum of money in excess of her wages sufficient to pay her expenses to her home. She had been much about the world, and was a shrewd person well able to decide where her opportunities for employment and her compensation would be most satisfactory. Having made her visit and built up her health, which had been shattered by residence in China, this woman, notwithstanding the distance and the expense, which must always be matters of importance to one of her class, made her way directly back again to California, taking with her a young female relative. The two of them are now at work there and perfectly contented with their opportunities.

The number of Chinese house servants in San Francisco in 1876 was estimated by Mr. Badlam at from 5,000 to 6,000;[1] by Mr. Rogers at 5,000,[2] and by Mr. Gibson at 4,500.[3] Assuming that the correct number was about 5,000, about one in five of all the Chinese in the city were engaged as domestic servants. At the same rate about 15,000 would have been at service in the city and State, a number so inconsiderable that considering the aggregate of population in the State, and the declared absence of servants, one can only reach the conclusion that the work of housekeeping in California is declined whenever possible, and that the families who do keep house are obliged to rely upon their own labor to a greater degree perhaps than anywhere else in the country.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 253.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1168.

[3] Ch. in Am., p. 59.

In whatever way, then, we regard the subject, the assistance which has been given to the people of California by the Chinese as servants is seen to have been of much importance. The experiences of such Chinese may be humble. What they have done does not strike the imagination with so much force as their services in the building of railroads, in mining, in agriculture and in manufacturing. Yet it is in this direction, perhaps, that they would be most missed if removed from the State. We can readily agree with Mr. Morganthau's statement that, in prospect of such a catastrophe, the women of California would declare that "they could not get "along without them."

PART III.—CHAPTER I.

OBJECTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED AGAINST THE CHINESE. THAT THEIR LABOR IS SERVILE.

This objection, or charge, of fundamental importance. Statements of anti-Chinese partisans. Distinction between a contract to labor, and a contract to repay money advanced, out of wages. How the Chinese were employed by the Central Pacific railroad. Evidence of Mr. Crocker. General employment of the Chinese. Evidence of Mr. Roberts, Judge Heydenfeldt, Mr. Heynemann, Mr. Brier, Judge Campbell, Mr. Easterby, Col. Hollister, Mr. Macondray, Mr. Peckham, and Mr. Shearer, indicating that Chinese labor is free. Evidence of the presidents of the six companies to same effect. How the Chinese come to California. Statements of Mr. Gibson, Mr. Speer, Dr. Williams and Mr. Cleveland. Opinion of the committee of 1862. Slavery in China. Mr. Speer's and Dr. Eitel's views. Labor by a class. The tendency in California to degrade labor by denouncing the Chinese.

I have placed the objection made to the presence of the Chinese in California, that their labor is servile in character, at the head of the first of the series of chapters in which I shall deal with the various objections raised, because I regard it as the most important; and I believe it to be the most important because, whatever advantages California may have derived from the labor of the Chinese, the people of that State and of the country would be entirely justified in condemning the system of labor if it were tainted by the essence of slavery. I trust that I shall be able to show conclusively that it is not in any sense a system of slave or servile labor, although it is perfectly certain that Chinese women have been held in California under contracts, and that the system in vogue, so far as they are concerned, is one which should be condemned and corrected.

It will be useful in pursuing this branch of our inquiry to state what has been put forward by the party opposed to Chinese immigration.

Mr. Pixley, the agent of the municipality of San Francisco, in presenting to the Congressional commission the views of the anti-Chinese party, used the following language;—[1]

"In reply to your third interrogatory;—'Do they "'come here voluntarily, and by what means do they "'get here?'—we answer frankly, yes, they come here voluntarily, so far as the males are concerned. They come "here, many of them, under contracts of labor, but those "contracts are voluntarily entered into, and they are, "therefore, in that sense, free immigrants to our coast. * * Very many of them undoubtedly come upon their "own means. It requires but the little sum of forty dollars. Those who have not the means to come by themselves, after the first came and made money, they "returned money to aid their friends and relatives, as all "our European immigrants in the early times used to do. "There are undoubtedly many instances where the Chinese six companies, or wealthy members of them, send "to bring them here, in order that they may go upon their "rolls and become laborers, out of which they make "money as middle-men or agents. The Central Pacific "railroad demanded ten thousand of these laborers, and "the demand was greater than the market afforded. "Through the six companies they sent their money to "China and brought them here, and that is the way in "which they come."

Mr. King, the agent of the anti-coolie clubs, said;—[2]

"The majority of Chinese males probably came here voluntarily, as Mr. Pixley suggests, but are bound by ser-

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 15.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 32.

"vile labor contracts for long terms of years, and while "such contracts exist they are to all intents and purposes "the absolute slaves of the contractors. For although "these contracts are void by our law, yet the superstition "and fear of the Chinese bondsman for his master is so "great as to prevent him from breaking his contracts. "That such fears are well grounded we shall show by evidence, and we shall establish, further, this fact, that "death at the hands of a Chinese assassin has frequently "been the fate of the Chinese slave who attempted to "break his shackles and regain his freedom."

It will not surprise persons who are familiar with the extreme language used in California in regard to the Chinese to learn that not a particle of evidence was presented to the commission which would in any way sustain the declaration made at the close of the preceding extract. But one witness pretended to speak upon the point, a man, the looseness of whose statements can be appreciated only upon perusal of his testimony, and his declarations, as will be seen upon an examination of of them, were founded upon pure hearsay.[1] In point of fact, I find no testimony, in all that taken before the Congressional commission, touching the assassination of any Chinaman by any other Chinaman, or by any body of Chinamen, much less any testimony showing that assassination has been used systematically to enforce the observance of labor contracts.

Putting aside this assertion of the representative of the anti-coolie clubs there remain other assertions by him and by his colleague Mr. Pixley, which demand serious attention. Is it true,

1st. That the Chinese come to America under contracts to labor?

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 94.

2d. That the Chinese six companies import contract-laborers.

3d. That the Central Pacific Railroad Company sent money to China and imported contract-laborers?

It will be understood at once that a distinction is to be drawn between a contract to labor, and a contract to repay money advanced, or due and owing in any way, out of earnings. Under the former the individual might be required to give his services for a month, or a year, or two, or five years, to his creditor. He would not be at liberty to choose his employment, he would be in a sense, a man in bonds, and any considerable class of such labor might be justly considered servile. The policy of our government discourages such contracts, whether made at home or abroad, although there are instances in which it is permitted and sustained by law, as in the cases of apprentices bound to masters in order to learn a trade, and of seamen. It is true, of course, that contracts to labor are constantly made with us, but the law limits the terms for which such contracts may run, and prescribes such remedies when the contracting servant fails, as to reduce the penalty to the measure of damages sustained by the employer. There can be no imprisonment; there can be no specific performance decreed.

But our laws do not disfavor contracts to repay money advanced, nor discourage in any way the sense of obligation which a debtor should entertain toward his creditor. A note of hand executed in London, or Berlin, or Canton, can be sued upon in the courts of New York or San Francisco, precisely as if it had been executed in New York or San Francisco. It may have passed from hand to hand by assignment or endorsement but it remains valid in all places and in all hands, until finally extinguished by payment of the debt or by the law of limitations.

Without entering now upon the question, whether many of the Chinese who come to the United States do or do not secure funds with which to pay their expenses, from friends or relatives, from money-lenders or otherwise, which money they agree to repay out of their earnings, I proceed to examine the evidence in order to determine whether the declarations of Messrs. King and Pixley may be sustained.

In doing this, it will be convenient to take the third proposition, that the Central Pacific railroad imported contract-laborers, first.

I have already quoted at considerable length from the testimony given by Mr. Strobridge and Mr. Charles Crocker in regard to the employment of Chinese on the railroad in question. It will not have occurred to any one who read the evidence so adduced that their story indicated that the Chinese who were in their service were any thing else than freemen. But if doubt can be possible on this point, the emphatic language of Mr. Crocker may be quoted to show with precision what his impression of their condition was, and how the Central Pacific railroad secured Chinese laborers ;—[1]

"Q. Do you or do you not believe that Chinese immigration to this country has the same tendency to "degrade free white labor as that of Negro slavery in the "South? A. No, sir; because it is not servile labor.

"Q. It is not? A. It is not; it is free labor; just "as free as yours or mine. You cannot control a Chinaman unless you pay him for it. You cannot make a "contract with him, or his friend, or supposed master, and "get his labor unless you pay for it, and pay him for it.

"Q. Did you ever make contracts with the six companies, or any particular Chinaman, to import here a "certain number of Chinamen to work upon your roads?

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 674.

"A. I never made any contract with the six companies. "I made a contract with a merchant here.

"Q. With any one? A. We made a contract with "Koopmanschap.

"Q. For how many Chinamen? A. I told him all "he would bring, up to 2,000. He brought 500.

"Q. When you employed Chinamen, did you employ "the individual Chinaman, or did you employ some man "to furnish you with a certain number of Chinamen? "A. On any road where we employed them for labor, "we always procured them through the house of Sisson, "Wallace & Co., here. * * That house furnished us "with Chinamen. They gathered them, one at a time, "two, three, four of them in a place, and got them "together to make what is called a gang, and each gang "is numbered.

"Q. Just like mules? A. Well, sir, we cannot dis-"tinguish Chinamen by names very well.

"Q. Like mules? A. Not like mules, but like men. "We have treated them like men, and they have treated "us like men, and they are men, good and true men. As "I say, we employed them in that way. They come "together in gangs of 25 and 30, as we need them to "work on a job of work, and the account is kept with "the gang, No. 1, 2, 25, 30, 50, 100, just as it is. Each "gang has a bookkeeper to keep the accounts among "themselves. We have a foreman, and he keeps the "account with the gang, and credits them. Every night, "the Chinese book-keeper, who is one of the workmen, "and works in the pit along with the rest, comes up with "his book, and he says so many days for that gang, and "they count it up, and they agree, and each puts it down. "When the pay day comes, the gang is paid for all the "labor of the gang, and then they divide it among them-"selves.

"Q. Does the same thing obtain with the white men? "A. No, sir; we get the individual names of the white "men.

"Q. You do not pay the individual Chinaman when he "works for you? A. We pay the head-man of the gang.

"Q. Some head-man? A. He is a laborer among "them.

"Q. You do not pay them in the same manner that "you pay white men? A. In the same manner, except "that we cannot keep the names of the Chinamen; it is "impossible. We should not know Ah Sin, Ah You, "Kong Won, and all such names. We cannot keep "their names in the same way, because it is a difficult "language. You understand the difficulty. It is not "done in that way because they are slaves.

"Q. Is it not a kind of servile labor? A. Not a bit. "I give you my word of honor, under oath here, that I "do not believe there is a Chinese slave in this State, "except it may be a prostitute. I hear of that, but I do "not know anything about it."

It will be seen from this evidence that the Central Pacific Railroad Company have not imported, through the six companies, or through a wealthy Chinese, or through any one else, any contract-laborers to work on the railroad in question, or on any of the roads controlled by them.

At this point we may conveniently inquire whether the employers of Chinese laborers in California, generally, endorse the view of Mr. Crocker, that they are freemen. A considerable number of such employers gave testimony before the Congressional commission. I quote from their evidence as follows.

Mr. George D. Roberts testified;—[1]

"Q. It is alleged that these men come under a con-

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 442

"tract of service—voluntary contracts, but a species "of slavery. The question I desire to ask is whether, "because they do come like that, and that they work in "droves, and contract through one man, does not account "for the efficiency of their labor? A. I think that is a "mistake, that there is nothing of that kind at all. I "find my Chinamen entirely independent of the bosses. "When the bosses do not pay them they come to me. "If the boss does not pay them any wages they tie him "up and call on us. That has been the case in several "instances. I find that each man has his account and "he holds the boss responsible."

Judge Heydenfeldt testified;—[1]

"Q. In your intercourse with these people, have you "had an opportunity of forming an opinion as to whether "they are under the control of any masters, or are they "independent men, acting for themselves? A. I can "only answer that by saying that it never seemed to me "that they are controlled. I do not know whether they "are or not.

"Q. Did those employed by you act for themselves? "A. Yes.

"Q. Independently? A. Yes; in engaging them "as servants for the various employments they seemed "to act for themselves. In making contracts for the "reclamation of tule lands, that is generally done through "contractors. One Chinaman, a man generally of considerable intelligence, will make the contract, understand it, and live up to it. He employs the Chinamen "who do the work. Whether he would have any control "over them, whether they belonged to him or were perfectly free, I do not know.

"Q. If they become dissatisfied, do they consult their "own pleasure about leaving, or do they act under any-

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[1] Rep Ch. Im., p. 511.

"body else? A. They always consult their own pleasure "when they are domestic servants, cooks, or anything of "that kind. I have employed some and they have left "on Saturday without asking leave of anybody else, or "without consulting anybody else, so far as I knew."

Mr. Herman Heynemann testified;—[1]

"Q. What is your observation, whether they are under "the control of any person, or whether they are free? A. I "think this so-called coolie business is a mere trick, a "sham, a delusion. I do not believe that they are any "more slaves than any other people at all, except as a "general rule they are absolutely very poor in their "native country, and have their passage money ad"vanced. Many of them have not been able to repay it "at all, and then they are constantly in debt. When "any white man has a debt hanging over him he is not "as free and independent as a man who owes nothing, "and that is the way with the Chinamen."

The Reverend William W. Brier testified;—[2]

"Q. What is your observation as to whether they are "freemen or bondmen? A. I think the only bondage, "so far as I have ever been able to learn, the only obli"gation they are under, is for money advanced for their "passages here. * * Every man who employs China"men, has one that he calls the boss Chinaman. When "he wants men he does not go around over the country "to look them up, but he just says to the boss, 'I "'want so many more men next week,' and that obtains "the men. He gets a small percentage, I suppose. I "know it is the case with my Chinaman. I suppose it is "universally the case with the boss Chinaman who "secures work for other Chinamen, to get a certain per"centage of the wages of all the men who work, to re"ward him for his agency in the matter. All the con-

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 534.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., pp. 569, 580.

"tracts for Chinese labor, so far as I know, are made "with what is called a boss Chinaman, and he hunts up "other Chinamen and brings them in. There are a great "many Chinamen going from one point to another, and "from one place to another, and if a man has a crop exposed he can get a large number of men to work for "him."

Judge Campbell testified ;—[1]

"Q. What is your opinion, from the observation and "intercourse you have had with them, as to their free-"dom? A. In what sense do you use the word free-"dom?

"Q. That is, whether they are under the control, as "bondmen or slaves, of any person? A. Judging from "my own experience, I have never had the least reason "even to suspect that they are under the influence of any "other person than themselves.

"Q. You contract with them directly? A. I contract with each one individually.

"Q. Do you pay the person you hire? A. I pay "them individually. Sometimes when three or four "come together, and are working for me together, one "will receive the pay for the whole, but it does not seem "to make much difference which one it is. One of them "will come to me with a statement of the time each one "has worked, and he will receive their pay, and I hear "nothing of it afterwards. I presume it is divided among "them according to their proportion of labor."

Mr. Henry W. K. Clarke testified ;—[2]

"Q. How do these Chinamen come here, voluntarily? "A. I have heard and read a great deal about coolie-"labor, and the manner in which they are brought here, "but my observation and experience, so far as they have "extended, satisfy me there is no truth in it, that it is a

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 734.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 690.

"whispered tale and has no real source. I think they "were attracted here, as probably you, and I, and all of "us were. In early times we came to get money with "the intention of returning, but having arrived here, "many of them no doubt would remain and become "permanent citizens, if there was any encouragement "given them to become permanent citizens."

Mr. Anthony W. Easterby testified;—[1]

"Q. Does Chinese labor partake somewhat of the "nature of servile labor? A. What do you mean by "servile labor?

"Q. I will put the question in another way. Is there "that individuality about Chinese labor that there is about "white labor? A. I think that they are perfectly inde-"pendent of their foremen. In hiring these men in large "numbers, you generally employ a foreman to get the "amount of men you require; I have noticed that some-"times scores of them leave without the wish of the fore-"man. Therefore I suppose they are independent.

"Q. Do you pay them individually or do you pay the "foreman? A. I pay the foreman.

"Q. You hire them through the foreman? A. I "hire them through the foreman."

Colonel Hollister testified;—[2]

"Q. In your intercourse with them have you formed "an opinion as to whether these Chinamen who are here "are free or not? A. If there was ever a slave among "them I knew it not. I treat with my men severally and "individually. I have no go-betweens. I say to a Chi-"naman, generally one who has been a father among "them and understands the language well, 'I want two "'more Chinamen; get good men; the best men; go "'bring them on and I will give them so much.' I take "simply any one of them who understands the language

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 746.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 771.

"and can talk well. I never supposed or believed that "there was a particle of peonage or slavery among the "Chinamen of California; and I do not believe there is "to-day.

"Q. Have you seen any evidence of any control exer-"cised by one Chinaman over another? A. Not a par-"ticle."

Mr. Frederick W. Macondray, of the house of Macondray and Company, merchants of San Francisco, engaged in the China trade and consignees frequently of ships and steamers from China, testified;—[1]

"Q. Do you know from your experience in China, "whether they come here voluntarily or under compul-"sion? A. My impression is that they all come here "voluntarily. I think some have come here under con-"tracts between particular men.

"Q. How far does the contract go? Is it the ad-"vance of money for their passage? A. I presume that "it is. I really know nothing about that matter at all.

"Q. You know of no contracts ever having been "made for servile labor, here, like the coolie trade? A. "No, I never knew a case of that kind.

"Q. You have a line of ships from here to China? "A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Do you bring any passengers by those ships? "A. When they wish to come, of course."

Mr. Robert F. Peckham testified;—[2]

"Q. In your dealings with these people have you "formed any opinion as to whether they are free, or "whether they are dependent and bound to any one? A. "I am not of the opinion that they are bound to any "one, in one sense of the term; but when they agree to "perform service for another, particularly for a China-"man, they observe their agreement in the utmost good

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 855.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 554.

"faith. Our process of securing Chinese help is through "a Chinese merchant in this city, who I understand acts "in the capacity of an intelligence office. He agrees to "furnish so many men to do so much work. He picks "up these men where he can get them, and gets a commission from them for procuring them situations."

The Reverend Frederic E. Shearer testified;—[1]

"Q. Have you, in your intercourse with the Chinese, "seen any evidence which leads you to think that these "people are under bonds to any others? A. In my observations I have been led to think otherwise. At one "time, when I had sickness in my family, and when a "domestic in my service left at almost a moments notice, "I retained a Chinaman for two or three days, and at "the end of that time placed him, at the request of a "lady, in her family. I am fully confident that he made "his own contract with her."

The witnesses whose testimony I have quoted, were among the most respectable citizens of California. They were all persons who had come in contact with the Chinese in that State, and could not have failed to detect any indications of a system among them savoring of slavery or contract-labor. While this is true, I desire to call attention further to the fact that not one of these witnesses appears to have had any knowledge that the six companies, who are charged by Mr. Pixley with importing coolies under a system of contract-labor, were in any way concerned in the earnings of the Chinese who fell under their observation. This one fact should be sufficient evidence that they do not import labor, for clearly if that is a matter of business with them, if that is the object, or one of the objects for which they exist, then also it must be an object for them to place the labor which they import, and in doing so they would come into relations, direct or indirect, with the employers of labor throughout the State.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 636.

It is possible, fortunately, to cite the evidence of the managers of these companies on this point. They were not called before the Congressional committee, but were summoned to appear and give evidence before a committee of the Senate of California which took evidence in San Francisco, in the month of April, 1876.

One of these, Leung Cook, president of the Ning Yeung company, stated as follows;—[1]

"Q. Do you know anything about the organization "of the six companies; are you a member of either one, "and if so state which? A. I am employed in the Ning "Yeung company as officer. I have general charge of "that company, write letters, send letters for my countrymen, take charge of their mails, &c. I am president "of that company. When Chinamen first came to this "country, knowing nothing of the language, they found "it difficult to get along, and the company was organized to assist them in getting employment, and in going "from place to place. It has been in existence about "twenty-two years.

"Q. Has this company any office in any part of "China? A. No; because it don't need it. The sole object is to look after Chinamen here.

"Q. How do Chinese laboring men get here? A. "They come of their own accord and pay their own "passages.

"Q. Where do they get the money to pay? A. They "are industrious and save their wages.

"Q. Is not the money used by some of these people "advanced to them, and then collected here by these "companies? A. No, sir; the company has no passages "to pay for them.

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com. 1876., p. 64.

"Q. Are there not men in China who contract to pay "passages here, and the Chinamen here have to pay the "money back to them? A. I don't know about that."

Lee Ming Hown, president of the Sam Yup company, testified;—[1]

"Q. How did the members (of your company) come "here? A. They heard that everybody in California "made a fortune, so they came here. If they have means "they pay their own passages; if not, they borrow "from others. They sell their farms and property to get "here. If they have no property and can't borrow they "don't come.

"Q. How much salary does the company pay you? "A. Eighty dollars a month.

"Q. What does the president do? A. Attends to "new comers, persons not acquainted with the language "of the country, and assists those who want help, such "as the sick and disabled."

Yung Ty, president of the Hop Wo company, testified;—[2]

"Q. How do people belonging to your company come "here? A. They raise money mostly at home. Some "borrow from friends in China.

"Q. How many belonging to your company are coolies? A. We have none of that class, for our men are "mostly farmers at home.

"Q. Are they men who own land? A. Most of "them are working it on shares; some of them own the "ground, some of them are working for wages, and some "for themselves.

"Q. Are they called coolies? A. I don't know what "you mean by coolies. They are not slaves; they are "simply the lower class of men, who work for a living.

"Q. What is a coolie? A. I do not know.

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 71.

[2] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 94

"Q. Do you know what a slave is? A. We have "no such in our own country."

Si Quon, president of the Yung Wo company,[1] was examined by the same committee, but not a question was put to him in regard to the importation of coolie labor, and the same remark may be made in regard to the examinations of Sin How,[2] president of the Kung Chow company, and of Chin Fong Chow, president of the Yan Wo company. The bias of this committee against the Chinese was very great, and it may be asserted with justice, that if they failed to prove by these several witnesses that the six companies were engaged in the importation of coolie labor, or of coolies, it was not because they overlooked this point. As a matter of fact the committee was appointed for the purpose of gathering evidence against the Chinese, and of preparing a memorial to the Congress of the United States against them, and they did their work to the best of their ability, apparently.

I have thus given evidence which shows, more or less conclusively, that Chinese laborers in California have seemed in the eyes of their employers to be freemen, that they have come to the country under no contracts to labor, and that the six companies have no concern in any advances which may be procured by such laborers in their own country for the payment of the expenses of their voyages to ours. The evidence is taken from the testimony of employers, and of the presidents of the six companies. The immigration of these laborers, and the operations of these companies have been observed, however, by several intelligent witnesses beside those already named, and is is worth while, for greater certainty, to take notice of the conclusions reached by them.

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 97.

[2] Ch. in Am., p. 259.

Mr. Gibson, says ;—[1]

"The Chinamen who come here, in every case come "voluntarily. It is true that many of them are assisted "financially to get here, and to find employment after "they get here, and for such assistance they gladly "agree to pay a certain per cent. of their actual wages, "until the stipulated sum is paid and the contract "canceled. * * From the beginning until now "the opposition to Chinese immigration has constantly "repeated the unqualified statement that a large pro-"portion of the Chinese who come to this country are "imported, or brought here, by the six companies, or "their agents, and that all these laboring Chinamen are "to all practical intents and purposes, the slaves or peons "of these companies. * * In his reply to Father "Burchard in 1873, the writer, who, from long experience "with the Chinese ought to have known what he was "talking about, boldly maintained there was no slavery "of Chinamen in America. If these Chinamen are all "slaves, and have been slaves during these twenty years "of their residence in all parts of the Pacific coast, in "which time, according to our agitators, they have "constantly blocked our courts of justice with their "multiplied civil and criminal suits, certainly it is rea-"sonable to suppose that some opportunity would have "occurred for obtaining reliable evidence as to the exist-"ence of slavery among them. But up to the present "time no such evidence, or shadow of evidence, has been "produced. These Chinese coolie-slaves are a most "remarkable class of slaves. They go and come when "and where they please, work and refuse to work at their "pleasure; they use the proceeds of their labor as they "choose, buy their own clothes, pay their own rents, go to "the theatre, gamble, smoke opium, bring suits in our

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[1] Ch. in Am., p. 259.

"courts, send money home to parents and friends, and act "in all respects just like freemen. And yet we are told that "they are abject slaves. What wonderful legislative and "executive ability those six Chinamen, the presidents of "these companies, must have to enable them to hold so "many people in such abject slavery. Why have not "some of these slaves taken advantage of our laws against "slavery, and prosecuted their cruel masters in our courts, "and obtained a decree of their own freedom? Why do "the hundreds of intelligent Chinese Christians in America constantly assert that there is no such thing known "among their people in this country as slavery, or bondage, except in the case of women. This charge of "slavery made against the Chinese ought to be as publicly and widely withdrawn as it has been publicly and "widely made, unless some evidence can be produced to "substantiate the charge. A great, free people, in the "very act of celebrating the first centennial of their "independence, cannot afford to wage a war of races, "based upon a tissue of falsehoods, and wilful misrepresentations, instigated by prejudices, ignorance and "bigotry, and conducted on the methods of political "chicanery. * * As to the six companies, and the "power they yield, great misapprehensions prevail in the "minds of the people. It is the custom of the Chinese "in China, when any considerable number emigrate from "one city to another, to come together and form a kind "of mutual aid society, or guild. The officers are elective, and hold their places for a specified length of time. "Voluntary subscriptions are raised, and voluntary taxes "are imposed, for the purposes of providing a hall or "quarters for the meetings of the guild. Generally a "temple, or shrine of worship, dedicated to the particular "divinities of the class, is erected in connection with this "hall. This hall becomes the rendezvous of the members "and retainers of the association. Membership is entirely "voluntary, and may be severed at the will of the "individual."

Mr. Speer, the author of "China and the United States," states;—[1]

"The means to pay the expenses of the voyage to "California are obtained by the Chinese emigrants in the "same way in which they are by our own people in "similar circumstances. One sells out his little shop; "another leaves the farm on which he was born, and "where his father lived before him, in the hope of bringing back money enough to pay off some troublesome "debts, or to enable him to add a few acres to it, or to "give to his son a good education. A third is aided, if "he has been unfortunate in business, or afflicted in his "family, by contributions from a few of his relatives. A "fourth borrows money at a high rate of interest, which "is to be paid on his return. After the most careful "inquiry on the subject from all classes of the Chinese, I "have never been able to learn that any were brought "over by capitalists, and worked as slaves are, against "their will, and for the advantage of the employer. This "fiction, so often repeated in print and otherwise, in this "country, arose from the clubs, or companies, which the "Chinese are accustomed to organize in any region where "a number of them may be temporary strangers together."

The same author, in another chapter, speaks at length of the purposes and peculiarities of the six companies, and gives a translation of the rules of one of them.[2] I shall have occasion to advert to these companies more particularly in another place and, at the moment, content myself by saying that I have found nothing in the rules of the given society, or in the general character of these organizations, as described by Mr. Speer, to suggest even that they import labor, or laborers.

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[1] Ch. and the U. S., p. 473.

[2] Ch. and the U. S., p. 557.

The venerable S. Wells Williams, L. L. D., author of the "Middle Kingdom," for a long series of years secretary and interpreter of the United States legation at Peking, and personally acquainted with the questions arising in connection with Chinese immigration, both because of his official duties, and of his long residence at Canton, in a letter addressed to the committee of the Senate of California under date of June 30th, 1876, stated as follows ;—[1]

"I think it is certain that no ship has arrived in California with Chinese who had been engaged to go there "as contract-laborers, and I think too that hundreds, "perhaps thousands have been deluded into accepting "contracts as coolies," (to go to Peru, Cuba, &c.,) "from "an idea that they were to be taken, if they were not "actually told so, to the golden hills." (California).

Mr. Daniel Cleveland, of San Francisco, gave in 1868, to Mr. Ross Brown, then our minister to China, a paper on the subject of Chinese immigration, which will be found printed in the book of diplomatic correspondence for that year. Mr. Brown, in a letter which is published in the same volume, stated that he knew "of no citizen "of California better qualified than Mr. Cleveland to "treat the subject with candor and intelligence." Mr. Cleveland says ;—[2]

"Before discussing the subject of Chinese labor, it may "be as well to say that there are no 'coolies' in this "State and never have been. Emigrants obtain money "to pay their passages in various ways; some have "money, others sell their property and obtain it; some "borrow from friends or relations; some pledge their "families as security for the loan. They come of their "own option, and when they arrive here, are free to go "where they please, and engage in any occupation they

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1246.

[2] Dep. Cor. 1868, Pt. I, p. 541.

"will. Those who arrive in this city without means, are "assisted by their countrymen, and loaned money to go to "the mines or engage in some other labor, and aided in "obtaining employment. They are as much free agents "as our own people. A great and widespread misapprehension has existed on this subject and has caused "much of the hostility to the Chinese."

I close this series of extracts with the following words by the committee of the California Legislature of 1862;—[1]

"Your committee is satisfied that there is no system of "slavery or coolieism among the Chinese in this State. "If there is any proof going to establish the fact that any "portion of the Chinese are imported into this State as "slaves or coolies, your committee have failed to discover it."

It was my intention in beginning this chapter to speak of the advanced position which the Chinese Empire has held in regard to slavery, of the democratic quality which pervades its polity, and of the absence of caste among its population. It seems to me, however, that the allegation against the Chinese in California, that their labor is servile in character, has been so fully refuted that I have no occasion to go further, and as I could not do so without encroaching upon space which must be reserved for other purposes, I refrain from a presentation of the facts in this connection. To those who may be disposed to carry inquiry into this domain, I may say that a chapter is given by Dr. Speer, in his really admirable book, "China and the United States," to "Popular Government "in China;" and that the most lucid statement which I have seen in regard to the forms of servitude which exist in China, is contained in a report made by Dr. Eitel, interpreter to the government of Hong Kong, which will be found in the Hong Kong Government Gazette of the

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1189.

4th of February, 1880. The system as described is a part of the patriarchal polity of China, and is so far unlike the slave systems of other regions, that an injustice is done by speaking of it as slavery. And, such as it is, it affects in the least possible degree the class which in other countries is regarded as the essentially valuable portion of a body of slaves. I mean adult males. Dr. Eitel declares that he has never seen such a slave, and I may add that during nearly twenty years residence in China I have not known a native of that country to whom the term slave would seem applicable. In the vast majority of cases the domestic servitude of the Chinese may be regarded as favorably as the system under which children in the United States are sometimes bound to masters to learn a trade, or to assist in their general labors, in consideration of the food and clothing and other benefits conferred upon them.

I am aware that arguments of much weight can be advanced to sustain the proposition that when the labor of a country is performed altogether, or in very large measure, by a class of the population, and this class differs from the employing class in origin or stock, a tendency is generated to degrade the laboring class and labor, and that this is unfortunate. I have no desire whatever to dispute this proposition, but I assert with emphasis that when conditions are such that labor is necessarily in large measure relegated to a class, the duty rests with all citizens to counteract the evil effects which may result, by all reasonable means. And certainly the readiest means which may be used is the right instruction of youth, and of the less intelligent classes, in regard to the essential dignity of all honest, earnest and free labor. If the public men of California, its statesmen, its politicians, its priests, its journalists and its teachers of all classes had consistently and continuously commended the Chinese for their industry, and pointed to them as an example of what may be accomplished by a people of less mental and physical vigor than ourselves by the simple force of steadiness at work, we should have heard far less of caste and its degrading influences, and the young men of the State would have grown up to habits different from those which characterize the hoodlum. As for myself I know no reason why I should not, if need be, hold the plow while the Chinaman drives, or drive while the Chinaman holds, than do the same work with a native American as my associate, or a German, or an Irishman. Experience among different races had only served to intensify the belief in which I was educated, that labor is honorable, and that all men under the sun are worthy in the measure of their intelligence and moral excellence, and not according to their grade in life or the hue of their skin. But it may be said with truth that no great country of the west, in modern days, has been more false than our own to the great principle to which I adhere. As witnesses let the Negro and the Chinaman rise and declare the wrongs to which they have been subjected, both by the conduct of individuals and by legislation.

PART III.—CHAPTER II.

OBJECTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED AGAINST THE CHINESE. THAT THEY DISPLACE OTHER LABORERS.

The question treated from the stand-point of the laborer. The interest of the laboring class is not antagonistic to that of the capitalist. The laboring class slow to appreciate the fact. Trades-unions, strikes, &c. Antagonism to laborers who do not join in coercive measures. Antagonism of this kind to the Chinese in California. Its use as a party cry. Its success. White laborers have not been displaced by the Chinese. Two doors for labor opened for one shut. Examination of facts regarding railway construction and its results. Facts regarding reclamation of swamp lands. Facts regarding employment of Chinese in mines. Report of committee of 1862. The contribution of the Chinese to the agricultural achievements of California. Chinese labor does not displace but supplements white labor. Fruit-raising. Testimony of Col. Hollister, Mr. Heynemann, Mr. Colton, Mr. Crocker, Mr. Estee. Chinese as operatives. Testimony of Mr. McLennan, Mr. Peckham, Mr. Wheeler. Chinese in special industries. Tendency of white to displace Chinese labor. Testimony of Mr. Buchanan. Shoes, cigars and clothing still imported into the State. Laundry work. Advantages to families of Chinese laundries. Prices of the necessaries of life reduced. List of sixty industries in which the Chinese are not employed. Domestic service. The employer entitled to support as well as the employed.

In the earlier chapters I have demonstrated the fact that the Chinese have contributed largely to the material prosperity of the State of California, and to the convenience and comfort of its people. It is urged against them, however, that they displace laborers of our stock, and that the injury which they occasion in this way, far more than overbears in importance the value of their contribution to the wealth of the employing class and of the State.

In addressing myself to the consideration of the questions which are thus raised, I shall deal with them on the very narrowest ground, placing myself as it were in the position of the laboring man, and examining the subject from his stand-point. I am well aware, however, that in doing this I shall not be able to exclude from the inquiry, considerations which affect the wealthy as well as the poor man ; for the conditions of all classes in a community composed of freemen, are related in so intricate a manner that it is difficult to say what circumstances may affect this or that class, which will not tell also in favor of all others.

It may be said at once that it is the interest of the laborer that he should receive high wages, and that of the employer that wages should be low. It is not true, however, that the interests of these classes are antagonistic. It is in point of fact the interest of each that wages shall be so graded that industries may go forward. If they are too low, the laborer falls away from his employment ; if they are too high, the employer ceases to employ. There must be found an equilibrium so that the employer shall receive encouragement to invest his capital, and to exercise supervision and care, and the laborer to learn the avocation and to be constant in it.

There have been times and places in the history of the world, and there may now be places where the proposition which I have stated would not hold. It would not hold in California if her territories were separated from those of the rest of the world by material barriers which the enterprise of her people had not broken down, and her soil was owned by a few persons. It might in such case be the interest of these proprietors to reduce the general population to a condition of utter dependence. This might be true even in a more developed society if all proprietors were engaged in the production of one or two staples, a market for which could be found abroad only.

The conditions in California are very different from those which I have thus supposed. Her population is composed of persons of various aptitudes, and of various degrees of wealth. Her soil is sufficient to subsist a population of fifteen or twenty times the present number. Her mountains are very rich in the precious metals, and her capacity for the production of all the fruits of the husbandman's toil is practically boundless.

Let us suppose now, that in this region, so vast and fruitful and yet only partially populated, no railways have been constructed, and that capitalists arrive and discuss the question whether they will undertake an enterprise of this sort. It is of concern to them, in this discussion, whether they can procure the necessary labor at rates which will justify them in proceeding. It is the concern of the laboring man who is resident on the spot that the enterprise shall go forward, both because it will give him employment at the moment, and because it is likely to make his opportunities for other employment greater. And so it will be found in all other directions in which capitalists are considering whether to invest money. One stands ready to establish a cotton factory, another to open a coal mine, but each must know before he begins whether, when he has completed his mill, or opened his mine, he will be able to secure laborers at such rates of wages, and in such numbers as to enable him to compete in production. And while the capitalist is making his calculations, the laborer, if he be reasonably intelligent and prudent, will watch the business with interest, for he may find employment in the mill, or in the mine, or in the numerous industries which are connected with them. The proposition then is that the capitalist will not only be willing, but find it is desirable, to pay wages sufficiently high to attract labor, and to ensure a constant and satisfactory supply of it, and that men of the laboring-class will find it to their interest to work for such wages as will encourage the capitalist to give them employment. And when we reflect further that after all capital has no option, and labor has no option, but that both the one and the other must be employed, we come at last to the demonstration that in our days, at least, the two move forward upon a basis of mutual advantage.

The laboring classes are very slow, however, to appreciate the fact that employers are likely to pay them as high wages as they can afford. They do not stop to think that if a given business insures a good return to the capitalist-employer, he is certain to extend his operations, and, in order to secure labor, make easy terms with it; or that, failing in this, some other capitalist will come forward, and, by entering upon the business, increase the demand for labor and the chances for employment at high wages. We have, as a consequence, trades-unions and strikes, and the introduction into great enterprises, by means of them, of uncertainties and risks, which make the capitalist less willing to enlist in such undertakings, and which, if carried far enough, must break them down.

The disposition to resort to such means of forcing up the price of labor exhibits two phases of equal unreason, one of which is disregard for the employer who has staked his means upon the result of his enterprise, who has given employment when he could afford it, and perhaps often, when he could not; the other is displeasure at persons who will not join in coercive measures against employers.

In the State of California, although wages have been unusually high, and still remain so, the disposition to be exacting toward employers has been very marked. Great industrial enterprises, like those of England, do not exist, and we hear comparatively little of trades-unions, but individuals of the laboring classes leave their employment for slight cause, and with but little regard for employers. It is simply notorious that labor is unsteady and uncertain. And while this is true, circumstances have tended to create in the minds of the workingmen peculiar hostility to those who are their competitors in many lines of employment. In saying this, I allude, of course, to the Chinese, who are steady, while the others are often unsteady, and who, more than all, are content with rates of wages which they condemn as too low.

The outcry which has been made in this way has been long and loud. It has been taken up by a newspaper press which has not borne in all respects the highest character. It has entered into politics, until it has come to be believed that no aspirant for political honors can succeed who does not join in it. It has controlled political parties, and demanded consideration in the halls of Congress. It has influenced presidential aspirants, dictated its own terms, and, at the last, enforced action from the chief magistrate of the nation.

It is too late in the day to indulge in any hope whatever that broad views may be instilled into the minds of the laboring classes of California. Their views have been accepted so readily, have been endorsed so perfectly in high quarters, and have afforded so many rallying cries in the political battle field, that the case is simply hopeless. But a love of fair play exists among the American people at large, and joined to this a capacity to reach just conclusions upon questions of State policy, which leave abundant room for hope that a demonstration of the almost wholly baseless character of the cry against Chinese cheap labor will receive correct appreciation.

I assert, that, so far as the statement that the Chinese have displaced the labor of our own people in California is concerned, it is capable of demonstration that they have produced just the contrary effect, and, having reference to what has been said in earlier chapters of the material advantages to the State created by their labor and to the general principle set forth already in this chapter, that they have actually opened two doors for the employment of our people where they have closed one.

Let us take up first their services to the State in the construction of railways.

It has been proven in the chapter which I devoted to this branch of their industries that they displaced no white laborers, and that in the construction of the Central Pacific road, of the Southern Pacific, and of other lesser roads, they were employed because American laborers could not be procured. And what has been the result? The Central Pacific has opened the way for thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands of our people and of the people of Europe, to enter the State, and this, and the other roads, have opened the way to them for take up lands here and there throughout the whole State, and to engage in pursuits to their own advantage and the advantage of the State which it would not have been possible to follow, in the the absence of such roads.

I do not know to what extent our people have been induced to enter the State by reason of the existence of these roads, and of the facilities which they afford in a variety of ways. I find it stated broadly that in the year 1875, 44,937 more persons entered the State by the Pacific railroad than departed by that line;[1] and that the population of the State was believed to have increased from 560,247 in 1870 to 900,000 in 1876,[2] these being the years in which the full influence of the construction of the roads began to be felt.

I am not now speaking of the future, and I am not

[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 992.

[2] Br. Br., p. 131.

speaking of the moral or political aspects of the Chinese question. I am addressing myself to the simple question whether up to the present moment the Chinese have displaced our people. What they may do in the future I shall consider at a later moment. Other aspects of their immigration I shall also consider at a later moment. But it seems to me that were there no other answer to the proposition which I combat, this one which I have now put forward, standing by itself, would be sufficient.

It may be responded here, that the one proposition does not necessarily exclude the other, that it may be true that thousands upon thousands of our people have been induced to enter the State by the increased facilities for their ingress and their industries created by the roads, and yet that other thousands have been driven out from their employment by the Chinese. But were this true, I must assume that we should regard primarily the interests of the larger number, and that if two doors for employment have been opened while but one has been closed, the laboring man of California is better off because of the result. It is not necessary, however, to stop here to discuss this question, for the reason that my further argument will show that there is scarcely one branch of employment from which the presence of the Chinese has excluded white men in any large measure.

I have given a further chapter in the earlier part of this book to the work done by Chinese in reclaiming lands subject to overflow. In doing so, I have shown by evidence that the labor so performed is of a sort which is distasteful to our people, and that as a consequence of this, and of the higher price of white labor, these reclamations would not have been made without the assistance of the Chinese.

I have no data from which I can determine how many acres of land have been added in this way to the productive acreage of the State, nor does it matter for the purpose of my inquiry. What is essential and what is true, is, that the lands so reclaimed have been occupied in large measure by our own people, that the slender dikes passed around them by the patient toil of the Chinese have enabled white men to turn over with the plow every part of those lands, to raise there, at one and the same time, their crops and their families. My impression is, that there is not an unemployed white man in California, who having a little capital, could not go upon these reclaimed lands and secure an abundant return for his labor and his money, and that the proprietors of these lands are so anxious to have them worked that they would extend facilities to all suitable persons who might come forward for such occupation, regardless of their abilty to find, for themselves, the means to supplement their labor.

It would appear at first sight, that the labor of Chinamen in the placer mines of California would be in competition with the labor of our people, or at least that it would add nothing to their opportunities for employment, but it is easy to prove that this view is a careless and unfounded one. Let us suppose that the Chinese gold washers of 1862 realized from their labors the gross sum of $15,000,000 a year. At this date nearly all the Chinese laborers in California were engaged in the mines, their earnings were very large, and the expenditures of the whole class could be rightly charged against the industry which supported them. The committee of the Legislature of California of 1862 gave the following estimate of those expenditures;—[1]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1190.

"STATISTICS FOR 1861.

"Duties paid by Chinese importers	$ 500,000
"Freight money to ships from China	180,000
"Passage money to ships, " "	382,000
"Head-tax	7,556
"Boat hire	4,767
"Rent for stores, and storage	370,000
"Licenses, taxes, &c., in the State	2,164,273
"Commissions paid to auctioneers and brokers	20,396
"Drayage in San Francisco	59,662
"Teaming in interior of State	360,000
"Paid for American products in San Francisco	1,046,613
"Paid for American products in State	4,953,387
"Paid for fire insurance in San Francisco	1,925
"Paid for marine insurance " "	33,647
"Paid for steamboat fares to Sacramento and "Stockton	50,000
"Paid for stage fares to and from the mines	250,000
"Paid for steamboat up river freights	80,000
"Water rates for Chinese miners	2,160,000
"Mining claims bought by Chinese	1,350,000

Commenting upon this table, the committee of 1862 said;—

"From the above remarkable statistics, amounting to "fourteen millions of dollars, nearly, you will be able to "form an idea of the value which this Chinese population "and industry confer upon the State. Dissect these "various items and observe what employment this "scourged race gives to our shipowners, our water-men, "teamsters, steamboat men, stage owners, with their "hostlers, and horses and blacksmiths, and carriage-"makers, our farmers and cattle-men, in short, in nearly "every branch of human industry in the State."

The language thus used is very just, but it was not necessary to give statistics to enable one to reach the interesting conclusion of the committee. It is entirely certain that the earnings of any class of laborers are expended almost as soon as they are received. The Chinaman is not an exception to this rule. He is described as very thrifty, yet it is his weakness, as it is that of other men, to increase his outlays as his income increases. If he saves ten per cent. of his earnings, he does well for a man of his class. My own opinion is that he does not do so, and I am fortified in this judgment by my personal knowledge of the Chinaman and some facts that I may adduce at a later moment. Let us suppose, then, that his earnings are $15,000,000 annually. Of this sum, ten per cent. having been deducted for savings, $13,500,000 will pass into general circulation, remaining to enrich the State, or passing out of it to pay the debts of the general population. It is a stream of wealth which enriches the whole region. It is perennial in its flow. Its benefits do not cease at the source, or with its origin. It moves the wheels of industry throughout its whole course.

To what has been said it is desirable to add a proposition, which will have been inferred from what I wrote in the chapter on Chinese in mining, and which I restate in the forcible language of the committee of 1862;—

"These departments of labor," (the enterprises of shipowners, steamboat men, &c., referred to previously) "are "carried on by white men, independent of Chinese labor, "but largely indebted for their recompense to Chinese "industry and patronage. And for this fourteen mil-"lions of dollars which we gather from the Chinese what "do we give in exchange? Mainly, thus far, the privi-"lege to work in the mines, on bars, beds, and gulch "claims, which have been abandoned by our countrymen "and other white men, because, by their intelligence and "skill they could find other diggings where they could "do better. Such claims to all but the patient, moder-"ate Chinese would otherwise have remained idle and "unproductive."

From that time to this, as I believe, the situation, so far as our inquiry is concerned, has not changed. Placer digging is carried on not for wages, but for the find of gold. The white man will enter upon the industry if it will repay him to do so, but not otherwise. For one reason and another the white man has had an advantage over the Chinaman. The laws and customs of the mining districts, for instance, have given him facilities to purchase claims, not possessed by Chinamen. The latter, in fact, have generally held from or through whites. The security enjoyed by the white man has been greater than that of his competitor. The latter has had to bear the burden of a grievous tax, not imposed upon the white. From deep mining white miners have managed to practically exclude Chinamen. In hydraulic mining the testimony shows that the whites, as employers, have nearly monopolized the business, and that when they have employed Chinese, they have been driven to it by high wages demanded by the whites, and the necessity to economize or close their work.

It would be impossible to say, then, upon any basis of broad reasoning that the opportunities of white laborers in California have been decreased and impaired by the presence of the Chinese in the mines of the State. In their narrow ways of regarding the matter the case may seem different, but that does not alter the fact nor excuse the more intelligent portion of the community and of the nation from taking a sensible and just view of it. The general good demands that they should do this and the good of the working men themselves demands that the more intelligent should enforce their views.

To make an argument here to show that the Chinese have contributed greatly to the agricultural achievements of California, and that in doing so they have supplemented the labors of our own people rather than competed with them, would be to repeat in great part the statements and evidence given in the chapter dealing with their labor in this department of industry. I may recapitulate briefly, however, the tenor of that chapter, and point out with clearness the lesson to be derived from it. It would seem, then, that although the farmer of California has appeared prominently in the markets of the world as a producer, more particularly of wheat, the circumstances surrounding him have obliged him to take up a system of husbandry which has been so directed as to enable him to draw the utmost from the soil, at the least possible expense. Land has been cheap, capital and wages have been dear, and under these circumstances the system graphically called land-killing is inevitable. The wages of laborers, and the ability to command a great deal of labor at short notice, are important matters in such a condition of things. The average of the former has been broken down somewhat, perhaps, by the presence of the Chinese; the latter has been supplied by them more or less in the measure of the demand. These few facts indicate the large place which the Chinese have taken in the agricultural enterprises of California, and pursued further will show that the services of the Chinese have increased the demand for white labor. The profits of farmers are never large. As a rule wealth rarely falls to their lot, and the fact indicates how close must be their economies. If then there had been no Chinese in the State, it may be doubted whether the narrow margin of profit which the farmer expects would have been realized in California, and failing this the lands would have remained unbroken by the plow or turned back after their first crops to be ranged over by herds of cattle and of sheep. But the presence of the Chinamen would seem to have turned the scale in favor of the farmer, or at least enabled him to extend his operations. It happens, moreover, that the kind of farming practiced in California requires a great deal of what may be called skilled labor. The plowman handles his team of four or six horses and manages, while driving, a gang of plows. Sowing is done in the same large way, and harvesting with the heading machine is a difficult matter requiring quickness of eye, familiarity with horses and with machinery, and considerable physical vigor. For all these branches of the farmer's work the American is better fitted, by far, than the Chinaman, but the labor of the latter comes in to supplement that of the former in what might be called the simple drudgery of the work. The Chinaman can ride in the header wagon and clear the grain as it pours in, he can discharge the loads and feed and clear the thresher, he can sack the grain, and where, under a more careful system, the fields are cut by reapers instead of headers, he can bind up the sheaves and load them on the wagons.

While the Chinaman comes in in these ways to supplement the work of the American in wheat growing, in other branches of farming his services are not less useful, while still complementary in character. If the field is one in which maize is being grown, he is an excellent hand at the hoe, he can shuck out the ripened ears, and turn the shelling machine. If root crops are cultivated, no man is more practical in the small work of hoeing and weeding, and of digging out the crop than he. Meanwhile, in all these branches, the farmer is himself the overseer and his white-hands are filling the more difficult places, and earning larger wages than the Chinese, in the measure of their greater adaptibility, skill and experience.

In fruit raising, we find the conditions analogous. The farmer requires a few skilled hands to assist in the preparation of his land, in the planting of orchards and vineyards, in grafting and in pruning. And when the season of harvesting arrives his work must be hastened or the fruit drops to the ground and is lost. When saved the various careful processes for its manipulation or preservation fall necessarily into the hands or under the supervision of persons of greater intelligence and experience.

If it be thought that I have deceived myself in the foregoing statements, I can only ask my readers to study for themselves with care the testimony taken before the commission of Congress. I may, however, without extending my writing unduly, quote some portions of the evidence which relates to this subject.

Colonel Hollister, for instance, said ;—[1]

"Q. Could you raise wheat here and export it with-"out Chinese labor? A. I think not. They are useful "in very many places in the field. They are not very "skillful planters, but in gathering the crops, and handling "them in other ways, they are very important, so much "so, that farming crops would have been failures entirely "if it had not been for the Chinamen to gather them in."

And again ;—

"Q. What effect does the presence of the Chinaman "have upon immigration? A. If the immigrant has a "bit of sense, the Chinaman is the best inducement in "the world to bring him here. If he knows anything "about what is in the country, he will know that there is "somebody here to do the work, that kind of work which "he cannot, or does not want to do."

Mr. Heynemann said ;—[2]

"Q. What is our chief element of wealth at the present "time? A. Commerce. California is dependent upon "her unrivaled position on the Pacific ocean.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 773.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 535.

"Q. What are our great articles of export? A. "grain, wool, wine, precious metals; grain, of course, "leading everything.

"Q. Without the grain trade would there be the "same amount of building cities, grading and other work "that is done by white labor? A. California would not "exist as a State as she now does.

"Q. Do you think the presence of the Chinese diminishes the immigration from the Eastern States? A. I "think it increases it."

Mr. Colton said;—[1]

"Q. State whether, in your opinion, the presence of "Chinamen retards the settlement of the country by "white people? A. I do not think so; on the contrary, I think that it would have the reverse effect, if "anything. They perform a class of labor that you cannot have done in any other way. It enables farmers to "carry on their occupation in various ways; and without the employment of this labor I do not believe that "land would have been cultivated anything like so prosperously as it has been. * * I have heard a great deal "said about white labor not having employment, but I "have yet, in twenty-seven odd years, to find any white "man who was honest in his purposes, to fail to get "labor. If he will attend to business honestly and industriously, he will not only find plenty to do, but the "first thing you know he will be managing twenty or "thirty Chinamen; that, I think, is the result of these "matters in this country."

Mr. Crocker said;—[2]

"I think that they afford white men labor. I think "that their presence here affords to white men a more elevated class of labor. As I said before, if you should "drive these 75,000 Chinamen off you would take 75,000

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 601.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 670.

"whites from an elevated class of work, and put them "down to doing this low class of labor that the Chinamen "are now doing. For any man to ride through California from one end to the other and see the miles upon "miles of uncultivated lands, in the mountains millions "of acres of timber, and the foot hills waiting for some "one to go and cultivate them, and then talk about there "being too much labor in the country is simply nonsense, "in my estimation. There is labor for all, and the fact "that the Chinamen are here, gives an opportunity for "white men to go in and cultivate this land when they "could not cultivate it otherwise."

Mr. Estee testified ;—[1]

"Q. How is it with regard to white passengers? A. "The white passengers overland?

"Q. Every way? A. Since 1854 or 1855 the white "immigration has not been so large as it has been in the "last two or three years.

"Q. You mean it has not been larger than in the last "two or three years? A. Yes, sir. From 1850 to "1854 it was very large.

"Q. Then there was a great influx on account of the "gold fever? A. Yes, sir; that was temporary."

The Reverend Mr. Brier testified ;—[2]

"I think that Chinese immigration has been an advantage to the pecuniary interests of the State, and I "think it has kept up the prices of the labor of white "people. In 1857 I paid $1 less to the white man that "I always keep than I do now, and he was a much better hand than I have now. While traveling in the East "this spring I made diligent inquiry in different States, "and I found that the price of labor on farms ranged "from $12 to $15 a month for that class of laborers who "receive here $25 to $30. I judge from that, that some-

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 713.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 572.

"thing has raised the price of white labor among us and "kept it up."

The same witness said ;—

"I know that I would have to stop and dig up my "fruit trees, without Chinese labor."

And again ;—

"I think it decidedly to the interests of the country, "that in the employment of capital in manufacturing, "and in the production of such things as can be exported, "there should be such pay to the capitalists as will induce "them to go into it; otherwise these industries would not "be carried on, and, therefore, detriment would befall the "capital of the State and the laborers."

The considerations affecting the employment of our own people and the Chinese in manufacturing enterprises, as operatives, are of the same kind precisely as those affecting employment in agriculture, but the case is more concrete, and serves to illustrate the rule more perfectly. I shall let employers of labor in this department, explain the facts.

Donald McLennan, of the Mission woolen mills, a man to whom this branch of industry in California owes more than to any other, testified ;—[1]

"The Chinese are a necessity in this way; if we had "six hundred white persons, we would not be sure on "Monday morning whether one of them would come to "work or not. If I wanted to borrow $100,000—and I "had often to borow from $50,000 to $100.000 in starting "my mill—and had an entire community of white help, "the banker would tell me at once;—'McLennan, I "'would readily give you this sum of money, because I "'know your intentions are honest, that you are industrious, &c., but what security is there that you can "'repay me.' I would reply, 'I have got my business,

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 608.

"'and I have got my white labor running largely.' But "he would answer, 'You do not know but that these "'people may strike upon you at any moment, and when "'your note becomes due you cannot meet it.' But "Chinese labor, as a portion of the help, is a check upon "anything of that kind.

"Q. Can you successfully compete with the Eastern "market? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Could you substitute white labor to-day and do "that? A. Not at the present price of white labor.

"Q. How many operatives have you? A. We have "600 altogether—about 300 Chinese and the rest whites.

"Q. What is the difference in the rates of wages that "you pay to the two races? A. We pay our white men "from $1.75 to $6 a day, and we pay the Chinese 90 "cents a day.

"Q. What is the difference in the amount of work "they perform? A. The white help is more skilled "labor, and the Chinaman does more medium work, "such as attending machines, and working in lighter "work.

"Q. They are employed in a different kind of work? "A. Yes, sir. The white men are the foremen, the overseers, the carpenters, machinists and engineers, and "work in the dye-house and the several departments of "work. I wish it understood distinctly that it is not my "wish, and never has been, to employ any of these people "where white men should be; but, at the same time, I "firmly believe that if the Chinese were driven from the "State, the State would be more than half bankrupt."

Mr. Peckham, of the San Jose woolen mills, testified;—[1]

"We employ Chinamen because it is necessary for us "to compete in the business. To our white labor we "have to pay wages far in advance of what is paid in

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 553.

"similar institutions in the Eastern States with which "we come directly into competition. To Chinamen, on "an average, we pay less. A year and a half ago we "compared pay rolls with several institutions in the East, "and I found that in our business and in theirs, there "was but little difference; that with our high priced white "labor and cheap priced Chinese labor, we average with "them."

Mr. Alfred Wheeler, who, although not an employer of labor, seems to have been a careful observer of the industries of the State, testified ;—[1]

"It is in the light of such an establishment as that of "woolen mills that I made the remark that the introduction of Chinese labor is beneficial to the white laborer entirely; that it enables the white men of California to get blankets at a reasonable price, and every "one uses them; and also that there are a thousand avenues of labor which a factory furnishes, which are not "performed by the Chinese. All the manufacture of "boxes in which the goods go, the drayage, the building "and manufacture of machinery, keeping it in repair, the "distribution of goods when manufactured, on the railways and steamers; there are a thousand avenues of "business and trade which follow the introduction of "such an industry."

We come now to consider the effect of Chinese competition in special industries, such as shoe-making, cigar-making, and washing.

I have shown in the chapter devoted to the special industries of the Chinese in California, that shoe-making was not carried on to any extent in California, until the moment when the Chinese, employed at first by our own people, began to be connected with it. It cannot be true, therefore, to any great extent, that our own people, or persons of other nationalities not Chinese, have been ousted from it by Chinese competition. In point of fact it is likely that at no previous date the number of white persons engaged in shoe-making was so large as in 1876.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 529.

There is one feature of the course of manufacturing industries in California to which I have not heretofore adverted, and to which I shall only refer now, as I shall have occasion to dwell upon it at some length at a later moment. I mean the evident tendency of white labor to displace that of Chinamen. One instance of a marked character is afforded by the shoe-trade, and the story may best be told in the language of a witness who appeared before the Congressional commission. This witness was Mr. William G. Buchanan. His evidence is significant in more than one direction. He testified ;—[1]

"Q. Are you a manufacturer? A. I am superin-"tendent of a factory.

"Q. What establishment are you in? A. Einstein "Brothers.

"Q. Is that an extensive concern? A. It is one of "the largest in the city.

"Q. What do they employ generally? A. All "white labor.

"Q. Did they formerly employ Chinese labor? A. "They did.

"Q. What led to the change from Chinese labor? "A. They thought that they could make shoes just "about as cheap with whites as with Chinamen, and "thought that they would try it. They started it grad-"ually, and accordingly as it went along they found they "were successful, and they got rid of them all.

"Q. They can make shoes as cheaply with white la-"bor as with Chinese? A. They are making shoes as

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 332.

"cheaply with white labor as they were making them "with Chinese labor.

"Q. Do you know whether or not there is a white "man's co-operative shoe establishment? A. There is.

"Q. Do you know what they receive on the invest-"ment? A. It is paying a good deal more than bank-"ing rates.

"Q. Do you know how much more? Do you know "whether it paid for last year 24 per cent? A. It did."

In regard to the manufacture of cigars, the same remark may be made again, that our own people were not displaced by the Chinese, but that the business was begun, practically, by the Chinamen.

It is to be said also, that in spite of Chinese cheap labor, a large proportion of the cigars used in California are made in the East. This means, simply, that the Chinese have not been able to make them more cheaply than Eastern manufacturers, and that when white men choose to enter seriously into the competition, they will be able in California to accomplish what the white men in the East are doing. Meanwhile every individual in the State who uses cigars, gets his supply at less cost because of the Chinese manufacturer.

In the industries of the needle again, the same line of argument applies. In the earlier days the State depended upon the East for its clothing, and its underwear, both for men and for women. Later on, the presence of many of our own people, able and anxious to work at home or in shops, rather than to go into the fields or into domestic service, led to the introduction of various industries of the needle, and these again to the employment of the Chinese. One would be glad to know that the poor women of San Francisco have such a resource reserved for their labor, and would not begrudge to them the poor recompense of their tedious toil. Yet it cannot be said that the women of San Francisco are driven very hard in comparison with their sisters elsewhere. The test of this is the wages paid to them in factories and in domestic service In the former they receive six or eight dollars a week, in the latter nearly if not quite as much, and the demand in the latter direction is constant and far in excess of the supply. It is true. moreover, that the Chinese do not by any means take up all the needle-work of San Francisco, and it appears quite certain that they will be displaced from it as the numbers of our own people increase and the organization of this kind of enterprise proceeds.

To what I said in regard to the peculiar industry of the Chinese, laundry work, in the chapter on this industry, I find it desirable to add nothing excepting language used by Mr. Brooks in his testimony before the Congressional committee;—[1]

"We had no washerwomen here formerly, that is to "say the class was very small and the expense of washing was very high. All the poorer classes of the "community did their own washing. In 1849 there were "few women here of any kind at all. There were some "men engaged in washing, Frenchmen, I think, and I "think some of the natives. The Chinese did not take the "place of any three thousand, or two thousand, or twelve "hundred, or any other number of washer-women. They "now do the washing in great part for small housekeepers, and they reduce in that way their expenses of "living very greatly. When a man has a wife and one "child, he can get along without any servant at all if he "puts out the washing. If he has a larger family than "that, he can get along with one servant, if he will put "out his washing. If he has his washing done at home, "he cannot get along with that help. The Chinese laun-

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 927.

"dries enable a great many mechanics to keep house "pretty well, who would otherwise live in tenement "honses."

I find it appropriate at this point to advert to two further general facts; first, that Chinese industries have undoubtedly lowered living expenses in California, and second, that there are a great many industries into which they do not enter at all.

It is a matter of course that increased production of the fruits of the soil reduces the prices at which the consumer may purchase them. In point of fact, meats excepted, there is probably nothing of local production, placed upon the tables of the people of San Francisco, which is not at least one-half cheaper to-day than it was in 1854 or perhaps in 1860. This is due not only to cheaper production, to which as we have seen, the Chinamen have contributed in very large measure, but also to the cheapening of the profits of the distributing agents through whose hands family supplies of the sort must pass. And here again the presence of the Chinaman has made itself felt. There is not a householder who cannot provide himself daily with the best vegetables and fruits which the markets supply, from the Chinese vendors who pass his door each morning. The same condition of things may be predicated not only of San Francisco, but also of all the other cities and towns of the State. The Chinese are everywhere as constant to employment of this sort as to the greater industries in which they have engaged.

All this may be a matter of small concern to the wealthy, but the difference must be of moment to men who work for the wages of labor. It is claimed in California that table supplies of local production are cheaper and better than elsewhere in the nation. If this is true, and if the fact is largely due to the Chinamen, it is at once evident that if Chinese competition has broken down in any degree the wages of labor, their industries have simultaneously increased the purchasing power of these wages in a degree which may, and probably does, more than compensate for the fall, excepting, if we must make any exception, in one or two special directions in which for whatever reason the Chinaman has taken a more active part.

The industries of San Francisco upon which the Chinese do not enter are shown in the following list which I have prepared from Mr. Lessler's tables;—

	No. employed.
Agricultural implements	95
Bag manufacturers	84
Bed-comforters	15
Bolt and nut workers	24
Boiler makers	260
Bell foundery and brass works	257
Iron-sheet manufacturers	24
Lead pipes and works	26
Mattresses	78
Meat preservers	58
Mirror factory	10
Maccaroni and vermicelli	34
Marble yards	148
Mucilage	4
Nickel platers	18
Oakum picking	16
Organ builders	14
Pumps	68
Paint works	11
Plumbers	325
Planing mills	475
Paper mills	20
Provision packers	34
Saw manufacturers	20

	No. employed.
Saw filers	46
Soap manufacturers	82
Safe factories	65
Stair building	146
Sugar refineries	290
Blacksmiths tools	49
Trunks	85
Tanneries	538
Engravers tools	5
Type foundery	58
Upholsterers	150
Wood turners	65
Wire works	98
Barbers	1,850
Blacking	14
Belt factories	21
Box factories, packing	428
" " paper	51
" " tin	21
" " fancy	8
Beds and bedding	919
Billiard factories	35
Book binders	200
Bakers	800
Coffee and spice, preparation of	88
Cracker, (biscuit,) factories	130
White-lead works	10
Chair factories	28
Coppersmiths	60
Coffin factories	46
Coopers	276
Engravers	62
File works	35
Foundery and iron works	1,987

	No. employed.
Flour mills	133
Plumbers and gas fitters	482
Gilders	40
Gold platers	38
Horseshoe nails	16

The list thus given embraces more than sixty different industries. Mr. Lessler's table indicates that many of them are in their infancy, or at least that they have attained to no considerable development. But what is being done in them is accomplished by workmen not of Chinese origin. The number of such is about 12,000.

There is one other considerable department into which the Chinese have entered—domestic service; but I allude to it only to pass it over. For the evidence shows not only that the supply of white domestics in California is very limited, and that wages are very high, but also that they cannot be procured at all in the farming districts and in the interior generally. There is no occasion for complaint on the part of this class. In point of fact, the agents of the anti-Chinese party, who appeared as counsel before the Congressional commission, do not appear to have thought it worth while to present any grievance on behalf of this class.

The facts and considerations presented in this chapter indicate very conclusively the correctness of my proposition, that the Chinese in California have not displaced laborers of our own stock. The argument has not been exhausted by any means. As already intimated, I shall have more to say bearing upon it in another place, when considering the prospects of immigration as affected by the demand for labor.

For the present, then, I leave this branch of the subject, remarking only, in conclusion, that in my judgment the members of the employing class in California are entitled to great credit for the liberal disposition which they have shown toward their white employés, and to be sustained against an unreasoning cry on the part of the latter; that the laboring man himself should be taught to entertain, if possible, broader views of the relations between capital and wages, and that both employers and employed should exercise not only judgment in dealing with the Chinese, but an appreciative respect for their rights as men, and for the great services which they have rendered to them, and to the State and nation.

PART III.—CHAPTER III.

OBJECTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED AGAINST THE CHINESE. THAT THEY SEND MONEY OUT OF THE COUNTRY.

The statement that the Chinese send considerable sums out of the country unfounded. The views of the committee of 1862. When earnings are large expenses are large. Laborers seldom make any savings. The Chinese not an exception to the rule. The lower scale of wages in China does not imply that the Chinese, in a large sense, are thrifty. Their needs in California different from those at home. Cost of their clothing compared. The Chinamen are epicures. Testimony of witnesses. Chinese restaurants in San Francisco. Absence of domestic and other restraints. Employment not continuous. The gross earnings of the Chinese in California. The amount expended by them. Productive nature of their labor. When not productive it is still of value to the State in an economical point of view. General outflow of American wealth for the products of other regions. Unnecessary sensitiveness in regard to the remittances of the Chinese.

A further objection urged against the Chinese in California is that they draw from the mountains great quantities of the precious metals and from the employers of labor, or consumers, a liberal recompense for their services, and that, living with mysterious cheapness, they are enabled to send out of the country a large part of the wealth which pours into their hands. Other fallacious statements are thus put afloat which are spread zealously over the whole country, and come to have great weight in the minds of the people at large and even among legislators.

I have already made some brief remarks on this subject. These I shall repeat and expand in this chapter so far as may appear necessary to correct the misapprehension in the minds of those persons who are disposed to consider the facts and to reach just conclusions.

The report of the committee of 1862 presents, as I believe, the right view of the question. It showed that the Chinese then in the State, numbering by their estimate 48,391 persons, of whom they believed 30,000 were engaged in the mines, expended annually in payments to white men for services rendered or materials supplied to them, about fourteen millions of dollars. This is possibly a large estimate of their expenditures. The official census of 1860 gives the Chinese population of the State in 1860 as 34,993. If 30,000 of these were in the mines and for each and every day in the year each one was earning $2, the aggregate could be $21,900,000, a sum far in excess of their probable earnings. But reduce the earnings as we may, or reduce the estimate of their expenditures as we may, we cannot do away with the signification of the table of expenditures presented by the committee. It is a matter of course that if earnings were high, expenses were high, and that in the measure largely of the success of the Chinese as miners, their outlays, whether for ordinary supplies or for personal gratification and enjoyment were high.

The rule among laborers is that they expend all their earnings to meet the demands of the moment. The term laborers, may be applied to those who work with their hands for wages, and as well to such as work in mines, such as the placer washings of California. It is true that the latter are not working for wages but they are expending their energies to obtain results for the day. In this, their efforts are not like those of the farmer who is constantly adding to the value of his farm, by subjecting it to tillage, and by increasing his stock of buildings, of animals, etc., or the tradesman who is extending his custom. In point of fact, the rule that men who work for wages do not accumulate, is applicable to persons of higher grade than the manual laborer. It may be possible for the foreman in a factory, the clerk in a merchantile house, or the government employé to grow rich by savings, but the cases in which this happens are very rare indeed.

There is no possible reason why we should treat the Chinese in California as exceptions to the rule. They have been pictured as a very peculiar race, in a great variety of ways. A certain mystery has been thrown around them. People have been taught that they possess, or are possessed by, all kinds of abominable vices. Yet they have been credited with one great virtue, that of thrift, a virtue which necessarily implies the possession of many others. We are told in particular, that they live upon a pittance and that they send their savings home, to provide for their relatives, or for their own comfort when they finally retire from their labors among us. But in point of fact, they are men with the ordinary necessities, appetites and weaknesses. They are, perhaps, more dutiful to parents than people of our own stock, but this certainly does not increase their opportunities to economize.

That the Chinese in California are not subject at the moment to all the necessities of our own people is quite true. Few of them have families, and they escape in this way a multitude of expenses; but neither do they receive as large wages, and it is well known that the unmarried man in the lower grades of life, is less thrifty as a rule than the one who has a family.

That they come from a stock which is used to privations, and who live very cheaply is also true, but the fact that they live cheaply at home may imply an absence of thrift, and of the capacity for enterprise rather than necessities of an over-powering nature. The countries of

Europe, where population is the most dense, are sometimes the most prosperous. In point of fact, it seems scarcely possible to over populate a country when the habit of enterprise is strong and labor is made productive of its best results by right systems of government and of industry. Without entering upon this question, I may say that the actual needs of a Chinaman are very different in California from those which attend him in his natural home. The district from which he comes borders upon the tropics, and the climate is so mild throughout the year that a jacket and pantaloons of cotton cloth will serve all purposes for nearly the whole year, and one or two extra garments of the same sort only are needed at the coldest season. His hat is pleated roughly with straw, and his foot-gear are sandals made of the same material. Probably his whole wear for a year could be purchased for five dollars. But when the same man stands upon the soil of California, his work, the climate, and the customs of the country impose other necessities upon him. He is soon found dressed in coat and pantaloons of woolen material, with underwear of cotton. He wears a felt hat, and the leather boots or shoes of the country. His cut of dress remains peculiar according to our ideas, although he makes an effort to assimulate it to our own. As a rule it has seemed to me more comfortable, and of better goods than the dress of the white laborer.

While this change of dress imposes serious expense upon him, his boots alone in America costing each year from twice to four times as much as his whole gear in China, his food is also more expensive. He labors in his native fields in an easy going, quiet way, without much mental or physical wear and tear. But in California the situation is different. He has far less physical strength and energy than the white man, and if he is to compete with him he must do so in virtue of steady application to his task. It happens in this way that the plain meal of rice, which at best costs twice as much in California as it does in China, must be supplemented by a more nourishing diet, of which meats form a great part.

It would appear too that the same refinement of taste which induces him to don, when his means will permit, whether at home or abroad, clothing of a more or less beautiful kind, leads him in California to indulge, as he does at home, in many pleasures of the palate. I have fallen upon a statement somewhere in the great mass of evidence taken before the Congressional committee, but to which I cannot refer at the moment, that the food of the Chinese miner in California is more varied than that of the American. Colonel Hollister said that "they use meats and vegetables in about the "same proportions as my own family."[1] Another witness, an officer of police, stated that there were many Chinese restaurants in the city of San Francisco, "well "supplied with a variety of food, with champagne and "other wines, and in which you can have anything you "call for."[2] Still another, Mr. John W. Dwinelle, declared that in his belief "the Chinaman is so good a "cook because he has got a sweet tooth of his own. The "Chinamen are very fond of pig, and of duck, and on "Sundays when we do not employ them on account of "our religious principles, they live very well I am told."[3] Mr. Gibson describes a Chinese restaurant;—"A three-"storied building, with balconies in the second and third "stories, gaudily painted with deep green, and trimmed "with red, and a profusion of Chinese lanterns helping "to give the place a peculiarly Oriental appearance," and says that "like other Californians many of the Chinese

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 795.
[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 226.
[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1077.

"live in restaurants. Plain living in a common restau-"rant can be had by a Chinaman for eight or ten dollars "a month. Good living will cost from fifteen to twenty "dollars, according to the taste and ability of the "boarder."[1]

It must not be forgotten that the Chinese in California as a rule have left their homes at an early age, that is to say before the usual time among them for contracting marriages, and that they stand upon our soil free from the restraints of family discipline and affection. The patriarchal system of China and the practice of early marriages conduce in a very large measure to the stability of the State and to the moral well-being of the individual. But these controlling influences do not follow the Chinese to our country, and as a consequence he is a less careful man than he would otherwise be in all his habits. The indulgence of his tendencies thus indicated, cause a drain upon his resources which beyond doubt limits considerably the amount of his eventual savings.

It is to be remembered, again, that many of the Chinese do not get constant employment. There is a demand for them at the harvest season, but except at this season their opportunities among farmers are limited. Throughout the whole mining region the gradual working out of placer deposits, is leaving them less room for enterprise. In the towns and cities they must take their chances in the keener competition occasioned by the increase in the number of the general population and of their own kind.

I have supposed that very nearly all of the Chinese in California are workers, whether for our people or among themselves, and at the present moment it is possible that they are earning an average of sixty cents a day for three hundred days in a year. This may be too high an estimate or too low. At best it is only an estimate. Taking

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[1] Ch. in Am., p. 69.

it as such, the individual Chinaman in California would earn annually $180. I have supposed that out of this sum he would remit to China, or save, 10 per cent. of the whole, say $18 a year. But let it be granted, for the sake of the argument, that the saving is 20 per cent. instead of 10. We have then the gross earnings of the Chinese
in the State annually...... 75,000 x $180=$13,500,000
and his savings .... 75,000 x $36= 2,700,000

The difference between these amounts is....$10,800,000
and this sum, at any rate, we may expect to remain in the country.

Whence, now, is this money derived. Certainly it comes in part from the mining interests, and so far as it is drawn from this source, it may be said that it would not be brought into existence at all as tangible wealth if it were not for the industry of the given class. It comes again from the farmers, and the fruit growers, who are able to pay over so much out of the returns received from their lands, because these returns yield to them not only the given amount of money, but beyond this enough more to meet other expenses, and to leave a margin of profit. It comes again from the builders of railroads, the reclaimers of swamp lands, and manufacturers; and yet again, from enterprises in agriculture and in manufacturing, managed by the Chinese and of which they are the proprietors. All these industries belong directly and positively to the class of productive industries, and a large measure of the produce remains in the country, enabling the general population to live in circumstances of increased ease, or passes out of the country to pay the accounts created by their importation of articles of utility, of beauty, or of personal gratification. It is wealth which brings wealth, and it is wealth which would not exist if it had not been for the labors of the Chinese.

The pecuniary result to the State, to draw a parallel which will enable one to grasp my idea more clearly, is like that which comes to the farmer who goes outside of the members of his own family in working his lands. It is well for him if his family is large enough and strong enough to cultivate his fields, but if not, and he has all the natural and artificial means required excepting labor, he may, and generally does, find it to his advantage to engage laborers outside, although he has to pay to them wages representing a portion of his produce. The advantages to the State, however, are far greater than to the farmer, because the outgo from the State is only a fractional part of the money which is paid to the laboring class.

It is true that a part of the labor of the Chinese in California is not what political economists would style as directly productive. Some of it is rendered to individuals and families as personal service; it yields nothing that did not exist before. Yet this labor may still be indirectly productive as enabling the individual, or the family or some member of it, to labor in a productive way, or to labor more efficiently than he could do otherwise. But when it is not productive in any ordinary sense, it may still be useful and a matter of gain to the community. The object of production is to serve the wants and the convenience of the several members of the community, and among these wants are some which require outlays of labor from which, while no production results, a great deal of convenience and comfort are derived. It is to be presumed that this convenience and comfort would demand services in any case, and that the services given by the Chinese are valuable just in the measure for which they are commanded.

I am aware that the political economists of America are very sensitive in regard to the outflow of wealth, regarding it often as a loss to the country, for which no resultant advantages can compensate. I am not altogether of this opinion, although I adhere to the proposition that the system of protection to home industries is required by our immediate circumstances. But a perfect application or result of the system has not been obtained by us, and never can be. Our money does and will continue to go out of the country, to pay for a thousand and one articles which we do not produce so well as they are produced abroad, or which we do not produce at all. A considerable part of our national bonds are held abroad, and we must pay the interest every year. Even the money of the poor man goes out to pay for the tea, the coffee, and the sugar which he consumes.

Why then should so much stress be laid upon the paltry amount which the Chinese take away from our shores. It is not large in the aggregate. It is not a considerable part of the wealth which they create. It is an incident of their employment, and we employ them not because they demand our employment, but because it is of advantage to us to secure their services. To be entirely plain, we have had ten talents given to us, and it is our duty to use them in such manner as to increase the number, and we do precisely that in employing the much dreaded "Mongolian."

PART III.—CHAPTER IV.

OBJECTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED AGAINST THE CHINESE. THAT THEY ARE A VICIOUS PEOPLE.

The disposition to be censorious criticised. Men are actuated by good motives. Experience among different nationalities. Race prejudices. Tendency of the laws. Political considerations. The Chinese system of ethics. Charts of the ethics of the Chinese. Confucian morals. The moral faculties. The cardinal virtues. Self-examination among the Chinese. The influence of the Confucian morals upon the nation. How it is exhibited among the Chinese in California. Charity for the failures of the Chinese. Habits of Chinese immigrants. Testimony of Mr. Babcock, Mr. Brier, Mr. Colton, Judge Heydenfeldt, Mr. Loomis, Mr. Sneath, Mr. Brown, Judge Campbell, and Mr. Cooledge. Christianity among immigrants. Testimony of Mr. Deal, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Shearer. The witnesses before the Congressional committee favorable to the Chinese were men of a high grade of intelligence and respectability. The Chinese a peaceable and easily governed people. Their vices less dangerous than those of white men. Statistics of Californian penal institutions, and hospitals. The results shown favorable to the Chinese.

In dealing with the declarations so often presented to the world by the anti-Chinese party in California that the Chinese are a vicious race and that they have transferred to our shores some of the worst forms of their wickedness, I must confess at the outset that my habit of mind has not been such as to lead me to dwell upon the defects of my neighbors or the general depravity of my fellow beings. I have striven always to indulge in that broad charity which leads one to search out what is really good among his fellow men, and to seek an explanation of vice in faults of education, in surrounding circumstances and, more than all, in failures of judgment growing out of a disordered or imperfect mental organization. I know very well that it is necessary for the welfare of society that the lines between virtue and vice should be clearly drawn and that wrong doing should be punished. I know quite as well, however, if I have not deceived myself, that there are many minds which are more or less incapable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and that the defect is not one of temper or heart, so to speak, but of the brain. If this is true how great charity should we observe toward our fellow-men, more especially when we remember that defects of education and extraordinary temptations, affect more frequently the classes among whom defects of mental organization are oftenest found.

While my natural bent of mind has tended to make me reflect somewhat seriously on the subject, my opportunities for observation have been, as I believe, more than usually extended. My avocation for very many years was that of a magistrate dealing with a multitude of matters occurring at a leading sea-port of the world, and affecting all grades of society and persons of all nationalities. If my reflections have led me under these circumstances to adhere more rigidly to my theories, and in the course of years to recognize the merit of the broad proposition that the common Creator has not made his creatures radically different in quality of brain or in disposition to serve the purpose of their creation, that all are actuated under normal conditions by good motives, and that similar disorders of the brain or misfortunes of circumstances affect all in the same way, I have at least the certainties of my experience to lead lead me to a more perfect trust in my convictions.

I ask my readers to dwell a moment upon this part of my remarks. There are some among them doubtless who have not been brought into almost daily contact with men of all classes, and there are others who know a few individuals only of this race, or that race, among all the various races which crowd the surface of the earth. Many hear of vice only through newspaper reports. If my experiences have been different, and if I have still come to have a more kindly appreciation of human nature, the result may deserve consideration. Let us take at any rate the case of race and class prejudices. Can there be a doubt in the mind of any candid reader of history that the depreciation of the French by the English, which one has observed running through the literature of the last century, was extreme and in a great measure unfounded? Did not the martial courage of the Turks in the recent war with Russia surprise those who had thought of them as an Asiatic people enfeebled by climate and by national vices? Was not our civil war a revelation to us of the capacity of the Southern people for heroic effort, and to them of Northern devotion to something more worthy than the loom and the ledger? What man of the North or of the South has not taken a more liberal view of the rights of the Negro, and of his capacity to take part in government, since he was enfranchised? Observe again the course of legislation as expressing the conception of vice among the nations. The progress of science has taught that there is such a thing, so to speak, as crime committed, in which no responsibility whatever attaches to the individual. It is the boast of our own country that we have gone further in the determination of the question of responsibility in mental disease than any other people. Certain great principles have been laid down by our legislators and our judges in this respect, and yet what legislation can define the border land between disease and sanity. While we have progressed in this way, how far have we advanced in our conceptions of the treatment of crime and criminals? Broadly stated, the object of punishment now, in large measure, is the reform of the criminal, and the word Reformatory has been made to apply to a class of penal institutions which have only come into existence of late years.

It is impossible for me to treat in one chapter the mental and moral peculiarities and delinquencies of the Chinese, and to trace these back to their sources in national education, and polity, and in the circumstances of life prevailing in China. It would be a work of less difficulty to trace out the causes of the mental and moral peculiarities, not to say delinquencies, of the American people. He would be an inconsiderate man who would deny that there are failures among the Chinese, and I may be so bold as to say as much of the person who would hold up our own people as models of virtue, public and private. I shall not attempt the task, neither shall I attempt to show that my ways of thinking about the question of vice are not singular. Those whose studies or experience have led them to reflect on the subject, will appreciate my position, and those who have not been led to such reflections must be taught in other ways than by my arguments. Yet, one may claim that a broad charity is called for in the discussion of a subject in which class and race prejudices, and the interests of politicians have been the active agents. It is not becoming in any one to be dogmatic, but I state with emphasis, that such prejudices and such interests have occasioned much of the denunciation of the Chinese in California, and with this preamble I pass on to deal with the question in a more direct manner.

It is the fashion ot people who condemn the Chinese for viciousness to say, with an appearance, and doubtless the impulse, of charity, that they are not Christians, that they have not been taught to revere one God, and to determine their methods of life by the precepts of revealed religion. This is to be admitted without reservation. I know no other sentiment which can supply the place of religion, and I know no system of religion which can be compared with our own. It is nevertheless true, that personal and civic virtues of an exalted sort may exist where the faith of Christ is unknown, and that a system of morals of a high order may be arrived at and taught in the absence of revealed religion.

If one stops but a moment to reflect upon the facts that the empire of China is populous beyond the measure of any other nation, and that it has had a settled government, and retained its autonomy for a longer period than any other nation, he will be ready to believe that her rulers and public men have not been destitute of capacity nor of virtue, and that her people have not been, to say the least, more vicious than other peoples. Continuity of national existence and of government is an argument in favor of a people and of their system, which no sophistry can condemn.

It would not serve my purpose here to describe the Chinese system of government, but I may justly call attention to their system of morals. In doing this, it would be easy to present its leading features in my own language, or in that of those who have studied it more closely, and with greater opportunities, than I have done. It is not necessary to do either, because, fortunately, the whole system may be presented in concrete form from a Chinese source. I refer to a series of charts exhibiting the ethical philosophy of the Chinese, translations of which have been given to the world by Dr. Martin of the Peking University.[1] At the risk of seeming to extend my writing to an undue length, I reproduce these translations here.

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[1] Hanlin Papers, p. 163.

A CHART OF CHINESE ETHICS.

IN FOUR PARTS.

Part I.—Chart of the Great Study.

This contains the True Tradition of the Holy Sages. Whoever obtains this doctrine may live in prosperity and die in peace. I have accordingly condensed it into a chart, to be hung on the right of your easy chair, to aid your study of virtue, just as the ancients made use of inscriptions on their girdles and wash-basins.

Heaven having given existence to man, the doctrine of the Great Study succeeded, and established order in society.

From the Son of Heaven down to the private man, every one must begin with the Cultivation of Personal Virtue.

Restricted in its sphere, it produces the perfection of individual excellence—a Holy Sage. His aim is,

PERSONAL VIRTUE.

The means to its attainment are—

1. **Propriety of Conduct.**
   - Fidelity and Truth.
   - Suavity and Respect.
   - Dignity of Carriage.
   - Precision of Words and Actions.
2. **Right Feeling.**
   - Avoiding Prejudice.
   - Restraining the Passions.
   - Cherishing Good Impulses.
   - Adhering to the Just Mean.
3. **Sincerity of Purpose.**
   - Self-examination.
   - Scrutiny of Secret Motives.
   - Religious Reverence.
   - Fear of Self-deception.
4. **Intelligence of Mind.**
   - Rejection of Error.
   - Comprehension of the Truth.
   - Quickness of Moral Perception.
   - Insight into Providence.
   - Study of the Laws of Nature.
   - Study of the Constitution of Man.
   - Study of the Records of History.

With free scope for its exercise, it makes a Reformer of the World—a true King. His aim is,

SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT.

The means to its attainment are—

1. **The Discipline of the Family.**
   - Filial Piety.
   - Fraternal Love.
   - Conjugal Fidelity.
   - Care in Choice of Associates.
   - Strictness in Intercourse of the Sexes.
   - Attention to Established Rules.
   - Instruction to Children.
   - Caution against Partiality.
   - Harmony with Neighbors.
   - Regard for Frugality.
2. **The Government of the Empire.**
   - Science of Government.
   - Power of Combination.
   - Reverence for Heaven and Ancestors.
   - Discrimination in Choice of Agents.
   - Love for the People.
   - Zeal for Education.
   - Strictness in Executing the Laws.
3. **The Subjugation (*lit.* Pacification) of the World.**
   - Wisdom in Conducting War.
   - Righteousness in Rewards and Punishments.
   - Liberality in admitting the Expression of Sentiment.
   - Frugality in Expenditures.
   - Skill in Legislation.

The Great Study stops only at Perfection.

PART II.—A CHART OF THE HEART.

The Chart of the Great Study will acquaint you with the principles of virtue; but as the keeping of the heart is a matter of great difficulty, I accordingly subjoin this chart of it.

Point of Divergence
between *Shun* and *Che*.*

The Wisdom Heart is minute and subtle,
(*i. e.*, the germ of virtue is small and feeble.)

Influence of Primordial Harmony.
The Wisdom Heart.

1. Obeys Heaven.

In Propriety of Conduct.
By { Regulating the External Actions,
and
Moderating the Internal Passions.

In the Exercise of Charity.
By { Conquering the Malevolent Affections,
and
Governing the Desires and Aversions.

2. Restrains Self.

In Subduing the Lusts.
By { Repressing Self-love,
and
Curbing Animal Appetite.

In Guarding against the dangers of Solitude.
By { Not injuring one's body, soul, nature, or life.
Not forgetting the reverential exercise of self-control.

He who pursues this course will daily rise in illumination, and finally become a saint or sage. Propitious stars will shine on him, and happiness attend his footsteps.

The Human Heart is in constant jeopardy,
(*i. e.*, beset with dangers and prone to evil.)

Influence of Gross Matter.
The Human Heart.

1. Indulges Self.

In Habits of Indolence.
Leading to { Gluttony and Drunkenness.
Idleness and Waste of Time.

In Carnal Lusts.
Leading to { Shameless Excesses.
Abominable Immoralities.

In Avarice.
Leading to { Filthy Lucre.
Violent Extortion.

2. Dismisses Conscience.

In Yielding to Impulse.
For { Sensual Pleasure.
Anger, Strife, etc.

In Treachery.
Involving { Flattery and
Deceit.

In Hypocrisy.
Involving { Dissimulation and
Falsehood.

He who follows this course, daily drifts into deeper corruption, and finally becomes a beast or monster. Evil stars glare on him, and calamity overtakes him.

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* The best and worst characters mentioned in history.

PART III.—A CHART OF MORAL EXCELLENCE.

The two roads of virtue and vice are clearly treated in the above chart, but as the virtues are not easy to practice, I add a chart of moral excellence.

Momentarily keep it in mind.

BENEVOLENCE.

Public Spirit.—Give all their dues, and let not self set up an opposing interest; but find your own good in the common weal.

Charity.—Do not to others what you would not have done to you.
Remember not old injuries, and treat men according to their several capacities.

Filial Piety.—Gratify the wishes of your parents, and worship your ancestors;
Carry out their purposes, and reflect honour on their name.

Mercy.—Treat all children with kindness, not your own only.
Pity the widow and fatherless, and give succor to brute animals.

Magnanimity.—A great soul can bear offence without resenting it.
He mingles with men on easy terms, and affects no superiority.
Kindness must be repaid, but not injury.
Rather suffer a wrong than do one.

Tremblingly hold it fast.

JUSTICE.

Manliness.—If you fail in anything, seek help in yourself.
Stand to your post, and let not vague desires draw you from it.

Fraternity.—Respect your elder, and be kind to your younger brothers.
Reverence age, and give precedence to years.

Courage.—When you see the right, do it; when you know your fault, correct it.
If rich be not insolent; nor cringing if poor.

Integrity.—Hold it fast, change not for custom.
Be content with simple fare, and when you see gain, ask, Is it just?

Modesty.—Let the men be continent, the women chaste.
Abhor evil, and fear falling.

WISDOM.

Knowledge of Man.—Detect false pretences, cleave to the virtuous, and avoid the vicious. Let not floating rumors move you to dislike a good man.

Knowledge of Nature.—Be erudite, inquisitive, thoughtful, discriminating. Investigating heaven and earth, the past and present.

Knowledge of Fate.—Practice virtue, take care of yourself, do your duty; and let good or ill fortune come as it may.

Use of the Eyes and Ears.—Keep the distant in clear view, and have an open ear for good counsel. Read no immoral books, hearken not to flattering words.

POLITENESS.

Respect.—Proceeding from an inward feeling.
It manifests itself in apparel and demeanor.

Caution.—Treasures the fruits of observation, hides the bad, and publishes the good.
It preserves conjugal harmony, and maintains decorum in the intercourse of the sexes.

Humility.—When rich, feels poor; when full, feels empty.
Makes no boast of abilities, nor prides itself on place or reputation.

Deference.—Declines much, and takes little;
And is only solicitous to find a lower place than others.

GOOD FAITH.

Simplicity.—In word and deed, in and out, one and the same.
In study or action, uniform from beginning to end.

Truth.—The words of the inner chambers should bear repeating in the palace.
Your private life should be such that heaven and earth might witness it.

Sincerity of Purpose.—Complete your engagements.
And be faithful in behalf of others.

Honesty of Intention.—So live that your heart will not condemn you, the people dislike you, your family shame you, or your friends reproach you.

PART IV.—A CHART FOR SELF-EXAMINATION.

The virtues may be copied from the chart of moral excellence, but lest vices should creep in unawares, I conclude with a formula for self-examination.

If you have faults, correct them.

OFFENCES AGAINST BENEVOLENCE.

Cruelty.—Inflicting misery on family relatives;
And finding pleasure in giving pain to man or beast.

Envy.—Jealous of the advantages of others, obstructing their promotion.
Offended at the superiority of others, indulging in detraction.

Malice.—Playing wicked pranks, and forgetting favors.
Delighting to hear of others' faults, and taking pleasure in publishing them.

Selfishness.—Consulting its own interest, and
Seeking its own advantage.

Treachery.—Inveigling others into evil, and
Involving them in calamity for its own ends.

Petulance.—With spirit so contracted as not to endure an accidental touch.

If none, redouble your zeal in the pursuit of virtue.

OFFENCES AGAINST JUSTICE.

Cupidity.—Never satisfied, but always longing.
Indulging the senses, coveting fame, and pursuing gain.

Flattery.—With artificial smiles and simulated voice,
Playing the sycophant in hope of power.

Parsimony.—Neither succoring the needy, nor rewarding the deserving.
Concealing wealth, and affecting poverty.

Indecision.—Indolently procrastinating, and shifting with custom.
Drifting with the current, and bending before power.

Discontent.—Uneasy in its condition, and destitute of self-satisfaction.
In everything it murmurs against heaven, and finds fault with man.

Perversity.—Capricious in choices and aversions, not seeking the right;
Following inclination, and regarding neither good nor evil.

OFFENCES AGAINST WISDOM.

Depravity.—Neither inquiring right nor wrong,
Nor distinguishing good from evil.

Levity.—Leading to inconsiderate words and actions.

Shallowness.—Prying and meddlesome.
Mistaking slight praise or blame for glory or shame.
Interpreting slight favour or opposition as love or hatred.

Obstinacy.—Holding to its own opinions, and refusing to be convinced.

Narrowness.—Content with a narrow circle of familiar thoughts, and
Unwilling to extend the view, or enlarge the sphere of knowledge.

OFFENCES AGAINST POLITENESS.

Pride.—Using wealth and power for self-magnification.
Employing talents and learning to eclipse others.

Arrogance.—Immodest in language, disrespectful to the aged.
Perverse in action, and heedless of advice.

Carelessness.—In affairs negligent of details.
In disposition harsh, in manners blunt.

Ostentation.—In all things tending to excess.
In general aiming to outshine others.

OFFENCES AGAINST GOOD FAITH.

Superficiality.—Without solid virtues, seeking an empty reputation.
Making a fair show, but hasty and insincere in friendship.

Insincerity.—With heart and life at variance,
Coveting the name of virtue.

Deceit.—In words false, in actions dishonest.

Intrigue.—Scheming, calculating,
Plotting and shifting.

In the essay with which Dr. Martin has published these charts, he says that their author is unknown, but that "the "want of a name detracts nothing from their value. The "author has no merit beyond the presentation of the "subject in a tabular view. Of the ethical system so "exhibited, he originated nothing; and the popularity of "his work is due mainly to the fact that it is regarded "as a faithful synopsis of the Confucian morals."

Part I, as Dr. Martin continues, is "an epitome of the "'Takio,' the most admired production of their great philosopher, and prized so highly for the elegance of its "style and the depth of its wisdom, that it may be often "seen inscribed in letters of gold and suspended as an "ornamental tablet in the mansions of the rich."

Part II, according to our author, "is chiefly interesting "for the views it presents of the conditions of human "nature. It is not a map of the moral faculties, but a "delineation of the two ways which invite the footsteps "of every human pilgrim. On the one hand are traced "the virtues that conduce to happiness: on the other "the vices that lead to misery. Over the former is written Tao-sin, 'Wisdom Heart,' and over the latter, Jin-"sin, 'Human Heart,' as descriptive of the dispositions "from which they respectively proceed. These terms, "with the two sentences of the chart in which they occur, are found in the Shu-king, one of the oldest of the "sacred books, and are there ascribed to the Emperor "Shun, who filled the throne about B. C. 2,100. Quaint "and ill-defined, they have been in use through this long "period, as a simple expression for an obvious truth— "recording as the result of a nation's experience, that "to err is human."

Part III, our author proceeds, "presents us with goodness in all its forms known to the Chinese. It is chiefly "remarkable for its grouping—the entire domain being “divided into five families, each ranged under a parent “virtue. The Greeks and Romans reckoned four cardinal virtues, but a difference in the mode of division, “implies no incompleteness in the treatment of the subject. The Chinese do not, because they count only “twelve hours in the day instead of twenty-four, pretermit any portion of the time; neither when they number twenty-eight signs in the zodiac, instead of twelve, “do they assign an undue length to the starry girdle “of the heavens. The matter is altogether arbitrary. “Cicero makes four virtues cover the whole ground “which the Chinese moralist refers to five.

“But while, in a formal treatise, definition and explanation may supply the defects of nomenclature or arrangement, the terms of a moral class, like that of the “cardinal virtues, are not without effect on the popular “mind. In this respect the Chinese have the advantage. Theirs are, Jin, E., Che, Sin, Le—Benevolence, “Justice, Wisdom, Good-faith, Politeness. Those of “Plato and Tully are, Justice, Prudence, Fortitude and “Temperance. In comparing these Prudence and Wisdom may be taken as identical, though the former “appears to be rather more circumscribed in its sphere “and tinged with the idea of self-interest. Temperance “and Politeness are also identical, the Latin term, contemplating man as an individual and the Chinese “regarding him as a member of society. The former, “Cicero defines as *το πρεπον*, and a sense of propriety, “or love of order, is precisely the meaning which the “Chinese give to the latter. In the European code, the “prominence given to Fortitude is characteristic of a “martial people, among whom at an earlier period, under “the name of *αρετη*, it usurped the entire realm of “virtue. In the progress of society it was compelled to “yield the throne to Justice, and accept the place of a "vassal, both Greek and Latin moralists, asserting that "no degree of courage which is not exerted in a moral "cause, is worthy of a better appellation than that of "audacity. They erred, therefore, in giving it the position of a cardinal virtue; and the Chinese have exhibited more discrimination by placing it in the retinue of "Justice. They describe it by two words, Chih and "Yung. Connected with the former and explaining its "idea, we read the precept, 'When you fail, seek help in "'yourself; stand firm to your post, and let no vague "'desires draw you from it.' Appended to the latter is "the injunction, 'When you see the right, do it; when "'you know a fault correct it. Neither yield to excess, "'if rich, nor swerve from right, if poor.' What a noble "conception of moral courage—of true fortitude!

"Benevolence and Good-faith, which are quite subordinate in the heathen systems of the West, in that of "China, are each promoted to the leadership of a grand "division. In fact, the whole tone of Chinese morals, as "exhibited in the names and order of their cardinal "virtues, is quite consonant with the spirit of Christianity. "Benevolence leads the way in prompting to positive "efforts for the good of others; Justice follows to regulate "its actions; Wisdom sheds her light over both; Good "faith imparts the stability necessary to success; Politeness, or a sense of propriety, by bringing the whole "conduct into harmony with the fitness of things, completes the radiant circle.

"Part IV. is the counterpart of the preceding, and is "interesting mainly on account of the use for which it "is designed. The whole chart is practical, and is intended, the author tells us, to be suspended in the "chamber of the student as a constant monitor. The "terms in which he states this contain an allusion to a "sentiment engraved by one of the ancient emperors on "his wash basin;—'Let my heart be daily cleansed and "'renewed, and be kept fresh and pure forever.' This "part of the work has for its special object to aid the "reader in detecting the moral impurities that may have "attached themselves to his character, and carrying forward a process of daily and constant improvement.

"To some it may be a matter of surprise to find this "exercise at all in vogue in a country where a divine religion has not imparted the highest degree of earnestness "in the pursuit of virtue. The number who practice it is "not large; but even in pagan China, the thorny path "of self-knowledge exhibits 'here and there a traveler.' "Tsang-fu-tsze, an eminent disciple of Confucius, and "the Xenophon of his Memorabilia, thus describes his "own practice. 'I every day examine myself on three "'points. In exertions on behalf of others, have I "'been unfaithful? In intercourse with others, have I "'been untrue? The instruction I have heard have I "'made my own?' An example so revered could not "remain without imitators. Whether any of them has "surpassed the model is doubtful; but his 'three points,' "they have multiplied into the bristling array displayed "in the chart, which they daily press into their bosoms, "as some Papal ascetics were wont to do their jagged "belts. Some of them, in order to secure greater fidelity "in this unpleasant duty, are accustomed to perform it "in the family temple, where they imagine their hearts "laid bare to the view of their ancestors, and derive "encouragement from their supposed approval."

I have, thus, in the briefest possible space, but in the most authoritative form, presented to my readers a picture, so to speak, of the Confucian ethics. A word now is needed to indicate the influence which they have exerted upon the nation. I cannot do this more briefly, more thoroughly, or authoritatively, than by quoting from Dr. Legges' introduction to his great translation of the Confucian classics ;—

"At the present day education is widely diffused "throughout China. In no other country is the schoolmas"ter more thoroughly abroad, and in all schools it is Con"fucius who is taught. The plan of competitive examin"ations, and the selection for civil offices only from those "who have been successful candidates, have obtained for "more than twelve centuries. The classical works are the "text books. It is from these almost exclusively that the "themes proposed to determine the knowledge and the "ability of the student are chosen. The whole of the "magistracy of China is thus versed in all that is recorded "of the sage, and in the ancient literature which he pre"served. His thoughts are familiar to every man in "authority, and his character is more or less reproduced "in him.

"The official civilians of China, numerous as they are, "are but a fraction of its students, and the students, or "those who make literature a profession, are again but a "fraction of those who attend school for a longer or "shorter period. Yet so far as their studies have gone, "they have been occupied with the Confucian writings. "In many school-rooms there is a tablet or inscription "on the wall, sacred to the sage, and every pupil is re"quired, on coming to school on the 1st and 15th days "of each month, to bow before it as an act of worship. "Thus, all in China who receive the slightest tincture of "learning, do so at the fountain of Confucius. They "learn of him and do homage to him at once. During "his lifetime he had three thousand disciples. Hun"dreds of millions are his disciples now. For two thou"sand years he has reigned supreme, the undisputed "teacher of this most populous land."

It may be asked what the Confucian classics and ethics have to do with the Chinese in California. I answer at once that they have much to do with them. The whole structure of government in China is permeated by the principles of which they are the expositors. The whole character of family life has been moulded by them. There is no Chinaman in his native country, or in ours, whose conceptions of filial duty have not been affected by the sentiments which Confucius taught, and which have come to be a part of the daily life of the immense masses of the empire. All the influence of a government which is founded upon the patriarchal idea, and has devoted no small part of its efforts to the diffusion of education, and has considered education as having for its more immediate object the diffusion of a system of morals suited to the requirements of the people and the stability of the empire, have been so directed as to give authority to his teachings. The Emperor is the father of his people. His officers take his place as such in the administration of affairs. If the father or the mother of any officer dies he must retire from duty for a period of years to mourn for the deceased one. To wives or daughters who have shown extraordinary devotion, monuments of imperishable stone, large, ornamented, and engraven with legends describing the merits of the individual, are put up by imperial decree, and may be seen scattered at not infrequent intervals along all the highways of the empire. The worship of ancestors has grown out of this system of ethics, and of the efforts made by government, and every Chinaman among us who arranges in life that his bones shall be sent back to his native land to rest with his ancestors, bears unconscious testimony to the influence of the great teacher.

It is idle to say, then, that the Chinaman who reaches our shores, does not bear with him the impulses derived from the ethics of his race. He has drawn them into his being with his mother's milk. He has imbibed them from the attitude of respect insensibly adopted by every member of his family toward the parents of the family, and by every member of his community toward the elders of the place. He knows no other pathway than that which has been trodden from time immemorial by the teeming millions of his countrymen on the pilgrimage of life. As he hopes for prosperity here, or rest in the land beyond the grave, he draws the faith of his ancestors to his heart. It is an always present, over-shadowing belief, which does not keep him perfectly in the ways of rectitude, but what faith is there of human or divine origin which accomplishes perfectly that result. And if there is failure, and we are stern, let us still remember that charity which is commended to us by our own system as the greatest of all our duties, and which would lead us to add not to his burdens, but to cheer and encourage him by example and by deed. I mistake the generosity of my country people, my faith in human nature is too confiding, if we are to take any other course. That great sentiment which has enfranchised and raised up a whole nation of another race and hue, which is providing for the sick and fatherless among us by charitable institutions of greater magnitude than have been seen elsewhere, and which is sending out the messengers of the Cross into all lands, will not fail in this emergency.

Following the course which I have already adopted, when dealing with questions of fact, I propose now to place before my readers the testimony of Californians regarding the moral qualities of the Chinese. For obvious reasons this will include statements of a special nature indicating their faithfulness at work, their peaceable tendencies, their sobriety, etc. Afterward I shall allude to the other side of the case, and indicate that we cannot rightfully visit the iniquities of some of their numbers upon the whole class of immigrants, and that we have ourselves to blame measurably for the evils which do undoubtedly exist.

Mr. Babcock testified ;—[1]

"Q. In your dealings with the Chinese, how do you "find them for honesty and integrity? A. They are "very keen, clever merchants ; they buy closely, I never "lost a dollar with one of them in my life. I would trust "them with four, five, ten, or fifteen thousand dollars just "as soon as I would any of the jobbers in the city.

"Q. Would you not trust them a little sooner? A. "No; I cannot say I would trust them a little sooner. "Mr. John Parrott did all their banking business here for "years, and he told me that he had never lost one dollar "of principal or interest from any Chinaman while he "was in the business. We sell them Mexican dollars "frequently ; every week almost, and if they want to take "them to their place to examine them, we always let "them do it. * * I think they pay their debts of all "sorts and kinds ten times more promptly than white "people ; I believe they pay their rents better and more "promptly."

The Rev. Mr. Brier said ;—[2]

"I believe the laboring class of Chinese are less cor-"rupting on the people here, than any other class of "foreigners that we have in the land. That is my firm "belief. I have employed them ; I have had them on "my place ; I have had them near to me, and I put more "confidence in them than in any other foreign nationality "whatever. * * They are a very polite people. "When I go out to the field, they bid me good-morning "in a very polite manner. They are not easily excited ; "they are very equable in their temper of mind. They "are very cleanly ; they keep themselves neat, and

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 711.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 576.

"clean, and nice; there is nothing offensive about them. "Scarcely any of them ever swear; none of them that I "have ever known drink whisky."

Mr. Colton said;—[1]

"I have never had occasion to find fault with them. "They have always been prompt, and faithful to carry "out their engagements. I think that you can consider "them an intellectual people, a thinking people. They "are not a people to fly kites and make a great fuss, but "they go along steadily and persistently, and they are "industrious and frugal. I never saw a drunken China-"man in my life. They are always themselves; they do "not have any sprees. I have heard of their smoking "of opium, but out of three or four thousand on the road "there are no opium smokers. There is no trouble with "them; they are always on hand in the morning; they "do a full day's work; and they are certainly the most "cleanly laborers we have."

Judge Heydenfeldt said;—[2]

"Q. From your acquaintance with the population of "California of all kinds, how does the morality and the "behavior of the Chinese contrast with the morality and "behavior of immigrants from Europe? A. Taking "the classes that we have seen before us, the Chinese are "something better. I think they are more faithful, more "reliable and more intelligent. * * I think that they "have more industry than the corresponding class of "whites. * * I think that they are thoroughly reliable "and perfectly faithful to their engagements."

The Reverend Mr. Loomis said;—[3]

"The Chinese at home, in their own country, are out-"wardly the most correct, the most thrifty, and unexcep-"tionable, in their domestic and commercial life, of any "of the nations who have not enjoyed the advantages of

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 601.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 509.

[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 450.

"a Christian civilization. As a body in this country "they are a quiet, inoffensive, docile people. There are "none among them like the hoodlum element among our "lawless boys and young men. There are none who "compare to the low, profane, debauched, drunken "crowds, that infest portions of most American and "European cities."

Mr. Sneath, manager of the Merchants Bank, said ;—[1]

"I have been a merchant most of my time in California. I have dealt a great deal with Chinese, and with "Chinese merchants in this city particularly. I have "always found them truthful, honorable, and perfectly "reliable in all their business engagements. I have done "business with them to the amount of several millions of "dollars. I have never had a single one of them fail to "live up to his contract. I never lost a dollar by them "in all my business with them."

Mr. Brown, cashier of the Bank of California, said ;—[2]

"In our business transactions with Chinese merchants, "they have always been very straightforward and very "correct."

Judge Campbell said ;—[3]

"Q. What is the moral character of Chinese immigrants, as compared with that of immigrants from other "countries? A. I am not prepared to answer that "question definitely, but from the general knowledge I "have upon the subject I do not think they differ much "from any other class of immigration of the same character and standing as themselves; that is, in the same "vocations, following the same line of life."

Mr. Joseph A. Cooledge, manager of the Merchants' Exchange, said ;—[4]

"The rule has obtained to a great extent to charge "the offenses of individual Chinese to the nation, while

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 542.
[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 797.
[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 733.
[4] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 490.

"crimes of other people would be fixed on the individual "alone, without regard to his nationality. I am not convinced that the Chinese are less law-abiding than other "people, though, through the prejudice that exists against "them, many are arrested for crimes which, if committed "by what is called a white man, would pass unnoticed, "and our laws show a larger proportion of arrests than if "the laws were impartially executed. * * If, as is claimed, "the greater portion of the Chinese now here are of the "lowest order of their own countrymen, it speaks volumes "in favor of Chinese civilization, and a strong inducement to encourage a larger immigration of the better "classes. * * Chinese merchants at the Exchange "are treated just the same as the people of any other "nation. They are treated with as much courtesy on "'change as anybody could be."

The Reverend David Deal presented to the Congressional commission a memorial of the "members of the "preachers' meeting of the Methodist Episcopal Church, "in the city of San Francisco." It contains the following statements, among other things of interest;—[1]

"We have carefully noted their habits of industry and "quietness of demeanor, and have rarely known them to "solicit alms.

"In many of our churches we have Sabbath schools, "as well as the night schools, in which they receive instruction, and we find them eager to learn our language. "They take an interest in reading the Scriptures, and "manifest anxiety to understand lessons of truth.

"We have given personal attention to the missionary "efforts of the different churches on the coast, and have "been personally acquainted with a number of the converts, in whose piety and purity of intention in joining "the Christian church we have entire confidence.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 443.

"The Chinese native preachers are called to endure "the persecution of the early Christian church. We have "in our number those who have witnessed, personally, "their heroic devotion to the truth.

"We would ask that the Christian sentiment of the "land be not wholly ignored, for it is not confined to the "unthinking multitude who, for the time, can be ruled "by passion. And we really fear it would require a more "potent effort to convert some of them to Christianity, "or to a more correct appreciation of a genuine Christian "civilization than it would the Chinese."

Mr. Easterby said ;—[1]

"Q. How are they, then, in regard to performing their "contracts, generally? A. Wherever I have employed "them they have faithfully carried them out.

"Q. What do you say in regard to their honesty? "A. I have never found a dishonest Chinaman.

"Q. How is it in regard to their temperance? A. I "have never seen one—in fact I have never known one "—to drink liquor."

The Reverend John Francis, a missionary of the Baptist Home Missionary Society, said ;—[2]

"I find the Chinese to be just like other people; I "cannot perceive any difference at all. When we bring "religious truths to bear upon them, they appreciate and "exemplify religious principles just like other people. "I have been, to some extent, connected with almost all "nationalities in both hemispheres. I hold the office of "a minister, and I am not able to point out any difference "between a Chinaman and people of other nationalities, Welsh, Irish, French, Scotch, &c. When I bring "the truth to bear upon their intellects and hearts, the "effect is alike."

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 746.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 484.

Colonel Hollister, speaking of the Chinese in the town of Santa Barbara, said;—[1]

"Out of the whole four hundred in the place, there "have been four arrests in the course of a year. Two "of them were dismissed; two cases were for petty lar-"ceny, stealing vegetables, or something like that, from "their own people. I never saw a better population in "my life."

Mr. Jessup said;—[2]

"I do not believe I ever had a Chinaman in my em-"ploy who ever took a dollar's worth of property from "me. In the match factory the habit had been to take "revenue stamps all the way from $1, up to $1,500, at a "time, and leave them in charge of the Chinamen, and "I do not believe that we have ever lost a dollar's worth "of stamps since we have used them. Repeatedly I "have given my Chinamen $1,500 worth of stamps at a "time. I do not believe I have ever had one lie to me. "I certainly have never found it out if he has. As far as "my experience goes I find them very truthful."

Mr. McLennan said;—[3]

"I never found a case of theft among them. It is "possible that such things might take place and we not "know it, but we have never discovered anything of the "kind, or noticed that anything was taken away."

Mr. Peckham said;—[4]

"It is hard to speak of the honesty of any people as "a whole class. There are good, bad, and indifferent "among the Chinese, as among any other class of people. "I can safely say that they will average well. * * Our "business is with Chinese to a considerable extent. We "have carried to the account of profit and loss from "$5,000 to $8,000 a year, and $75 covers all we have

[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 744.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 821.

[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 607.

[4] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 555.

"ever lost by a Chinaman. * * There are Chinese
"merchants in the city whom I would credit to-day
"$20,000, who have not got $2,000 visible to me. They
"never fail to pay."

Mr. Roberts said ;—[1]

"I do not think they are models as to honesty, but
"they are about as reliable as the common run of men
"who fill such positions. If you take the educated, intelligent
"Chinamen, the merchants, I find them very
"reliable, very trustworthy, and we seldom have the disagreement
"of a cent in our accounts."

The Reverend Mr. Shearer said ;—[2]

"Notwithstanding the difficulty of inducing a heathen
"people to renounce idolatry and ancestral worship, and
"to give up friends and worldly prospects to gain nothing
"but peace of conscience here, and heaven hereafter;
"and notwithstanding the fact that the brutal treatment
"they often receive from an idle, vicious, and prejudiced
"class of our own citizens has a tendency to make them
"despise Christianity because they erroneously attribute
"these wrongs to a Christian people, the progress of our
"mission work has been eminently encouraging, both as
"to the number of converts, their integrity and piety, and
"as to the increase in the means and agencies employed,
"and the sympathy manifested by the churches of our
"denomination." (Presbyterian).

Mr. Wheeler said ;—[3]

"I have found them a pacific, mild, and gentle people,
"so far as I have had experience with them. Those who
"have been in my employment as domestic servants, I
"have always found extremely subordinate and respectful,
"quiet, attentive, and rather avoiding difficulties, in
"such cases as I have seen, than seeking them. They are

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 443.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 632.

[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 517.

"conscious, evidently, of the prejudices existing against "them. The children of the community are disposed to "pelt them with stones, and they avoid giving them the "opportunity. I have seen them go around a block rather "than pass by four or five boys whom they thought might "stone them, not because they personally feared the boys, "but they did not want to be subjected to the annoyance."

The evidence which I have thus quoted, is certainly not unfavorable to the Chinese in California. The witnesses cited, are each and all of more or less prominence in the State and of undoubted intelligence. They are thoughtful and experienced men, whose views for all reasons are entitled to much consideration. And those views are not those of a minority of the witnesses who were actually called before the commission. I have, by no means exhausted the statements favorable to the Chinese. If I had taken them all out from the record, placing those which are favorable on the one side, and the unfavorable on the other, the lists would show that the former predominated, and that the witnesses who spoke for the Chinese, were, as a rule, of a decidedly better grade of intelligence, education and experience than the others.

It would be difficult under these circumstances to admit that the Chinese in California may be seriously objected to as a specially vicious class of the community. They are men, and have vices. But they are, as a rule in California as in China, a peaceable people, easily governed, whose forms of vice are of a less malevolent kind than those of white men, and less dangerous to the peace of a community. In subsequent chapters I shall indicate what positive evils do attend their presence among us, and the remedies which may be sought in political negotiations, in legislation, and in administration. I conclude this one with a reference to statistics, as demonstrating more perfectly the general conclusion in regard to the vicious tendencies of the Chinese, which I have reached from the facts already presented.

On page 121 of Mr. Brooks' "Appendix to Open-"ing Statement and Brief," will be found the following statistics ;—

Number of admissions to Almshouse from May 1st, 1870, to September, 1876,

Miscellaneous	3,257
Chinese	6
	3,263

Number of admission to Industrial School from 1869 to 1877.

Miscellaneous.............................. 1,107

Present number 225. Chinese 9.

STATE PRISON OF CALIFORNIA.

Year.	Total.	Foreign.	Native.	Chinese.	Irish.
1851	33	18	15	None	6
1852-1853	105	58	47	do	5
1853-1854	154	85	69	5	10
1854-1855	190	98	92	6	21
1856-1857	291	157	134	12	33
1858-1859	396	234	162	16	40
1859-1860	483	295	188	21	46
1860-1861	516	310	206	28	51
1861-1862	553	330	223	33	62
1862-1863	515	305	210	31	58
1863-1864	540	335	205	36	60
1864-1865	577	342	235	47	63
1865-1866	551	345	206	53	55
1866-1867	648	421	227	81	72
1867-1868	692	449	243	78	85
1868-1869	732	358	374	76	86
1870-1871	880	403	477	118	86
1872-1873	931	453	478	150	87

STATE INSANE ASYLUM.

Year.	Total.	Foreign.	Native.	Chinese.	Irish.
1851	13	5	8	None.	2
1852	128	63	65	do	10
1853	284	133	151	1	28
1854	307	123	184	1	24
1855–56	380	149	231	1	23
1857	248	124	70	6	32
1858	260	165	105	11	71
1859	276	164	112	7	57
1860	248	134	114	7	49
1861	219	155	64	5	36
1862	301	203	98	11	49
1863	252	170	82	8	57
1864	219	155	64	8	66
1865	268	158	100	9	60
1866	279	149	130	10	48
1867	313	186	127	8	69
1868	387	266	121	10	107
1869	482	303	179	17	99
1870	562	395	167	13	141
1871	523	349	174	13	122
1872	506	347	159	24	107
1873	401	270	131	16	94
1874	524	330	174	23	114
1875	615	417	198	27	147

Taking the statistics of the State's prison first, we find that in 1860–61, the whole number of prisoners was 516
That of the Chinese was.......................... 28

In the year 1860 the whole population of the State was.................................... 379,994
That of the Chinese was.......................... 34,933

The Chinese population then was something less than one in ten, while their part of the whole number of criminals was about one in eighteen.

In the year 1870–71, the whole number of prisoners was	880
Including of the Chinese	118
In 1870 the population was	560,247
Including of the Chinese	49,310

Their proportion of population was then about one in eleven, and of criminals about one in seven and a half.

In considering the bearing of these statistics, it must be remembered that the Chinese in California are nearly all males, that the percentage would need to be very largely against them to compensate for this, and that the difficulty of procuring convictions of white men with white juries would be sensibly greater than that of procuring convictions against Chinese, the juries being white.

The table indicates, apparently, an increase of crime among the Chinese in late years. They do not go far enough for me to judge whether this is apparent or real, but it is by no means improbable that there has been an increase. This might arise from unfavorable tendencies of their position among us, or from an increased flow of persons driven from China because of their crimes.

Taking the table of the State's Insane Asylum, we find that in 1860 there were seven Chinese inmates out of two hundred and forty-eight, and in 1870, thirteen, out of five hundred and sixty-two. The difference in the percentage in this direction is so great as to occasion surprise, more particularly when one remembers that the absence of women among the Chinese has a direct and positive tendency to increase forms of vice which occasion insanity.

With one further citation I shall close this chapter. Mr. Edward J. Armstrong[1] testified that he had examined the records of the district court of the fourth dis-

[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 74 3.

trict of California, at San Francisco, and that the total number of cases in that court, up to date, had been 28,824. Out of this great mass of trials, he found that, "there were twenty-nine actions in which the Chinese "were defendants, in which they were sued for breach of "contract, or debt, or on promissory notes; for the fore-"closure of a mortgage, one; damages for assault, one; "and for malpractice there were two."

PART III.—CHAPTER V.

OBJECTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED AGAINST THE CHINESE. THAT THEY HAVE SET UP A GOVERNMENT IN CALIFORNIA.

Statement of Mr. Pixley. Improbable nature of his declaration. The subject of importance. Statement of Mr. King that the death penalty is enforced by secret tribunals. Statement of the Congressional commission. No sustaining evidence in that taken by the commission. Certain testimony taken by the Senate committee of 1876. The six companies. Mr. Gibson's description of their character and objects. Mr. Pixley's statements regarding the companies. Courts of arbitration among the Chinese. Evidence of the presidents of the six companies. Conclusions of the Senate committee of 1876. Mr. Rogers' testimony examined. It is hearsay and uncertain. The Hip Ye Tung society. An organization of ruffians for unlawful purposes. Failures of the city and State in dealing with the Chinese. Control of the foreign settlements at Shanghai and Hong Kong.

I shall take up and consider in this chapter the further general objection advanced against the Chinese, that they have instituted a government of their own upon our soil.

In regard to this assumed feature of Chinese life in America, Mr. Pixley, in his opening argument before the Congressional commission, said ;—[1]

"I have no doubt that I shall be able to prove that "there are secret tribunals, exercising a criminal and "civil jurisdiction, an *imperium in imperio*; that they "have tribunals and forced penalties, even to the extent "that property and life bear enforcement. We think we "shall be able to show, by good testimony, that it is a "common practice for them, secretly, to advertise the "payment of money for the assassination of informers

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 23.

"and enemies; and that their institution is so secret and "so subtle, and so close, as to have defied the scrutiny of "detective police, or the investigation of the courts."

A person who is not eager to believe evil of his fellow-beings may be permitted to question this language and to ask at once how it can happen that proofs of the existence of such an *imperium in imperio*, to use the words of the advocate of the anti-Chinese party, can be so readily available to him when they have not been available to professional detectives and to the courts. A tribunal must have a name and a place in which to hold its sessions, but Mr. Pixley has failed to prove the name or the place of meeting of the mysterious association which he has pictured for us. A tribunal which enforces its penalties must have its executive agents, but these again are left—shadowy myths, creatures which the imagination may depict, but which are not otherwise presented to us. If property and life have been sacrificed, whose life is it that was yielded up, and what property was it that was sequestrated? If this tribunal has such vast powers, why does it need to "advertise" the payment of money for the assassination of "informers and "enemies?" Who again are the officers and which the courts who have attempted to scrutinize and investigate the "institution."

Such language as that of Mr. Pixley is not language to be used lightly. It is a grave arraignment of a people who have sought our shores largely because we have invited them to come, because we have need of their labor, and who are among us under guarantees given by the nation for their good treatment. It was used before a commission appointed by the Congress of the country to inquire into the qualities of those people. It was carelessly used under circumstances when a grave and decorous treatment of the subject was called for by all the facts involved. It was accompanied by blasphemy which no considerations of duty, no regard for things human or divine ever led man to utter in such a presence. I refer to the closing words of a succeeding paragraph of Mr. Pixley's opening address, in which he said ;—

"I believe that the Chinese have no souls to save, and "if they have, they are not worth the saving."

Mr. King, the representative of the anti-Chinese clubs of California, in a paragraph which I have already quoted, said ;—[1]

"We shall prove that the majority of Chinese males "come here bound by servile labor contracts for long "terms of years, and while such contracts exist they are, "to all intents and purposes, the absolute slaves of the "contractors. For, although these contracts are void by "our law, yet the superstition and fear of the Chinese "bondsman for his master is so great as to prevent him "from breaking his contract; that such fears are well "grounded we shall show by evidence, and we shall "establish further this fact, that death at the hands of "the Chinese assassin has frequently been the fate of the "Chinese slave who attempts to break his schackles and "regain his freedom."

I have already demonstrated, as I believe, the injustice done to the Chinese by the statement that they come to California under contracts to labor. Mr. King's further statement of the way in which such contracts are enforced falls to the ground necessarily under these circumstances. As it is a part and parcel, however, of the *imperium in imperio* theory, I place it again before my readers in order that they may judge whether there is any other foundation for that theory.

I do not forget that the majority of the Congressional commission endorsed the proposition advanced by Mr. Pixley and Mr. King, in regard to the existence of a secret rule among the Chinese in California, although they did not endorse the other proposition, that they had been imported under labor contracts. What they said in this connection is contained in the following sentence ;—

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 28.

"It was further shown that the Chinese have a *quasi* "government among themselves, independent of our laws, "authorizing the punishment of offenders against Chinese "customs, even to the taking of life."

It might be possible to pass by the allegations of Messrs. Pixley and King, but it is not possible to disregard the conclusion of the majority of the commission. I trust that, notwithstanding this *dictum*, I shall be able to show that no such government, and no such tribunal or tribunals, exist in California, and that the majority of the commission allowed themselves to be deceived by certain loose statements, and by the support given to them by certain facts which, while they appear to sustain their conclusions, are susceptible of a very different explanation.

I should say, now, that it is my impression that the honorable senators and members of Congress who composed the majority of the committee, the minority consisting of but one person—Senator Morton, the chairman, whose name would be a tower of strength to any cause—traveled outside of their record in the given matter. There is no positive evidence in all that taken before them of the existence of any secret tribunals, any *quasi* government among the Chinese in California. Such testimony was given before the committee of the Senate of California, which held sessions in San Francisco in the months of April, May and June, 1876, but the whole of that testimony was objected to when offered before the

Congressional commission;[1] was never accepted by it, and did not find a place even among the miscellaneous papers which are bound up with the report of the commission. I shall, nevertheless, advert to and examine this evidence, in order that all the statements which have been made authoritatively, in this connection, shall receive appropriate attention. I must, at the same time, condemn that evidence as carelessly taken. No counsel were employed, and no serious attempt was made to go to the bottom of any of the questions at issue. The testimony taken by the committee covers no more than 160 pages, and this fact alone affords a sufficient commentary upon the value of its labors.

I have said that certain facts which appear to sustain the conclusions expressed by the Congressional commission are susceptible of explanation. It will clear the ground very much if I remove the obstructions to a correct appreciation of the facts in this way.

It will have been remarked by all persons who have paid any attention to the Chinese immigration question, that the six companies have been objects of great suspicion and dread. It is these companies which, as we have seen, have been charged with the importation of contract-laborers, and the proposition that the Chinese have a government of their own in California, has been given form and credence by the assumption that the companies exercise a general control over them.

Let us inquire then, about the purpose and organization of the six companies.

It is to be said at once that they are miscalled companies. The idea conveyed by the word is that they are mercantile or commercial associations, while the fact is that they are mutual aid societies, pure and simple, although the service rendered by them to their members, and the Chinese population generally, are more various than is usual among such societies with us.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 67.

The Rev. Mr. Gibson thus describes their objects;—[1]

"As to the six companies and the power they wield, "great misapprehensions prevail in the minds of the people. It is the custom of the Chinese in China, when "any considerable number emigrate from one city to "another, to come together and form a mutual aid society, a guild. The officers are elected and hold their "office for a specified length of time. Voluntary subscriptions are raised and voluntary taxes are imposed "for the purpose of providing a hall, or quarters for the "meetings of the guild. Generally a temple or shrine "of worship, dedicated to the particular divinities of the "clan, is selected in connection with the hall. The hall "becomes the rendezvous of the members of the association. Disputes and differences among themselves are "generally compromised and settled according to the "advice of the officers and influential members, without "resort to magistrates. Membership is entirely voluntary, and may be severed at the will of the individual. "Of such character are the several Chinese associations "in California, now known as the six companies. Each "company represents a certain district in China, and "claims as members all the Chinese from that district. "There are no formal rites or ceremonies of admission. "No admission fee is charged. No certificates of membership are issued. The name, age and native place "of each immigrant is obtained, immediately on the arrival of the steamer, by the officers of the several companies, and the name thus obtained is at once enrolled "in the books of the company representing the district "from whence he came."

My impression is that Mr. Gibson is not correct in saying that no admission fees are charged. It appears that some of the companies do require a payment, either upon the enrollment of the individual or so soon as he is able to make it. My impression is, also, that the names are taken upon the steamers for the reason that a certain responsibility attaches to a family, clan or village, under the Chinese custom, for the acts of individuals of the family, clan or village, and that a certain reproach would fall upon the whole number of immigrants from a given district, if individual members were not restrained from wrongful acts, or were not defended and provided for by his fellow Chinamen in case of need.

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[1] Ch. in Am., p. 337.

Mr. Gibson continues ;—

"In the early days of California these companies were "more useful than now. They gave advice to the newly "arrived immigrant. They took some care of the help"less poor and the sick, and they did quite a business in "shipping home the bones of the dead. But now, nearly "all the immigrants have personal friends already here, "waiting to receive and advise them. The sick and poor "are also generally cared for by personal friends, if cared "for at all. And the opinion seems to be rapidly grow"ing among the Chinese that the bones of a poor China"man can rest almost as well in America as in China."

We have seen already that the feeling of the Chinese in regard to the return of their dead to China grows out of national beliefs which may be called religious in their character. It is the filial piety of the race, which regards the obligation of the son as extending beyond this world, and which has inculcated the idea that no person can be considered happy in the next world whose remains do not rest where family care can be exercised, and family sacrifices offered over them. It happens in this way that the district associations which exist in China, undertake to provide for their members as well when dead as when alive, and that a place of deposit for the coffins of those who die is a part of the property of such associations. In these depositaries such bodies remain until called for by the friends of the deceased persons, or a convenient opportunity offers for them to be sent home by the association. In such case the expense is defrayed by the association if need be.

This purpose of caring for the dead is one of the most prominent among the motives which have induced the Chinese in California to form and sustain the associations kown as the six companies, and the ordinance which was directed against the removal of the remains of Chinese was one of the shrewdest movements which have been made in California to discourage Chinese immigration.

Mr. Gibson says further ;—

"Differences and disputes among themselves, however, "are still at the option of the parties, referred to the officers and influential members of the associations as a "court of arbitration. But the companies do not claim "to have, nor attempt to use, any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the people. And, indeed, the compromises "recommended by the companies are not always accepted "by both parties in dispute, and such cases are frequently "appealed from the adjustment recommended by the "companies, to the decision of our courts."

Mr. Pixley seems to have arrived, in a measure, at the same conclusions in regard to the six companies as those expressed by Mr. Gibson. I find so much that is just in what he says of them, and his statement is so significant as coming from an opponent of Chinese immigration, that I shall quote it at length ;—[1]

"My opinion is that the Chinese six companies are the "growth of our Chinese immigration, and the result of the

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 23.

"peculiar circumstances attending the large influx of "Chinese to our coast; that they were the natural growth "of necessities that called them into existence. They are "peculiar to California, and have no protection under our "law, and no recognized authority or existence in China. "They are voluntary associations. They have features "belonging both to relief and benevolent societies, and "to business and money making organizations. I think "their growth came in this way. As from the different "ports and localities of China, the pioneer came to this "coast, as he sent back for his relatives and friends and "aided them by his money, or induced them by his ad-"vice or by the statement of the El Dorado which he "found here, and this labor bonanza that paid him so "richly, he induced his neighbor and relative from the "same village, from the same family, and the same local-"ity, to come to California to partake with him of the "benefits of this newly discovered El Dorado. The "second comers naturally would come consigned to "their old neighbors, and the fact of vicinage and "neighborhood would naturally bring them together, "and out of it would come a natural result of association "and organization. When this necessity was found to "exist, and when it was practically inaugurated by an "organization, the benevolent feature was introduced; "that is, they take these people; they provide for them "when they have money to pay; they furnish them with "labor when they are able to labor, and when they can "find contracts for them. They sometimes make ad-"vances, especially for food and materials and tools to "go into the mines, the tules or elsewhere; they open "an account with them; they contract their labor; they "receive their pay from the original contractor, and open "an account with each coolie, if you please to call him "that. They open an account with them, charging them "large interest for advances, charging percentage for act-"ing as their agent, and finally when the debit and credit "account is balanced and they are out of debt, then the "Chinaman is free."

Now some of these statements are reasonable enough on their face. Those which describe the circumstances which have led the Chinese to come to our country could not be more liberally expressed. The words "newly discovered El Dorado" and "bonanza of labor" are graphic, and at the same time accurate. But when Mr. Pixley assumes to say that the companies make contracts for the labor of their members he travels outside of the proofs, and outside of the range of the possible. We have already learned exactly how the Chinese are engaged to labor by Amercan employers, that all contracts are made directly with individual laborers, or with gangs of men whose only bond of association is prior acquaintance and the convenience of the moment. The facts as I shall develop them will show again that the six companies have but a few officers, and no system or staff of organization by which they could undertake to contract for the labor of their members.

And while I have found Mr. Pixley's remarks so far just, I could not myself state more liberally the conditions under which the assistance of the companies is lent for the settlement of disputes. He says, continuing the paragraph from which I have already quoted ;—

"The association is a voluntary one, and being in "this relation, they arbitrate and settle difficulties among "each other. Members of the same company, naturally "submit to the officers of their company the arbitrament "of their disputes, and if the members of one company "are imposed upon, or their rights infringed by the mem-"bers of another, the natural result is to bring an adjust-

"ment between these two companies; and thus, arbitra- "ments, and courts and settlements are brought about."

Leung Cook, president of the Ning Yeung Company, testified before the California Senate committee, as follows;—[1]

"When my countrymen come to California, my com- "pany takes care of them, pays their boarding and lodg- "ing expenses. For this they collect afterward from "each man five dollars. That is considered to pay back "the company for its advances, for expenses and its "trouble. When they pay it back they get a permit and "can then buy tickets. When men are sick, poor and "unfortunate, they remit the five dollars and give a per- "mit anyhow. When men are in debt to anybody, and "the company finds it out, it will not give the permit. "If the debtors are too poor to pay, they are allowed "to go."

"Q. Who is it makes up the company to which you "belong? A. Myself, inspector and cook, three mem- "bers, officers."

Lee Ming Hown, president of the Sam Yup company, testified;—[2]

"Q. Where does your company get its money? A. "By subscription from the stores?

"Q. How long have you been at the head of your "company? A. About one year.

"Q. How often do they change? A. Once a year. "Sometimes a man is chosen for a second and third "term.

"Q. Who elects officers? A. The merchants, mem- "bers of the companies.

"Q. How much salary do they pay the president? "A. Eighty dollars a month.

"Q. What does the president do? A. Attends to

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 64.

[2] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 70.

"new-comers, persons not acquainted with the language "of this country, and assists those who want help, such "as the sick and disabled."

Yung Ty, president of the Hop Wo company, testified;—[1]

"Q. How do people of your company come here? "A. They raise money mostly at home. Some borrow "from friends in China.

"Q. What do they do with the sick? A. If they "have relatives they take care of them.

"Q. How is it that so many Chinese are in our hos-"pitals? A. I don't know. All that belong to our "company we take care of.

Sin How, president of the Kong Chow company, testified;—[2]

"Q. What do you do with your sick? A. If they "have brothers or relations they take care of them, if not "we take care of them."

Si Quon and Chin Fong Chow, presidents of the Yung Wo and Yan Wo companies, were also examined and gave evidence of precisely the same sort as that given by the four others.[3]

I take it that if these much questioned organizations were really business associations, or if they together constituted a *quasi* government, an *imperium in imperio*, we should have found a serious effort made by the committee of the California Senate to prove the facts out of the mouths of these officers, and that having accomplished this, the same men would have been summoned before the Congressional commission. But no such effort was made, and the fact of itself shows that the Senate committee recognized the essentially useful and harmless character of the companies. I have not been able to find a report of the conclusions of that committee, but the Honorable E. J. Lewis, one of its members, personally visited the Chinese quarter, and reported as follows regarding the companies ;—[1]

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 94.

[2] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 95.

[3] Rep. Sen. Com., pp. 97, 98.

"We then went to the office of one of these companies, the Sam Yup company, where we met the heads "of these six companies. We had a long conversation "with them, first as to the number of Chinamen that belong to each company. * * The companies, I think, "are societies for the protection of Chinamen coming "from some particular locality in China, or in the province of Canton. Each company represents a separate "district. Their custom is that whenever a ship arrives, "an interpreter or inspector goes on board and finds out "the locality from which each Chinaman came. His answer determines the company to which he shall go, and "he is at once enrolled as a member thereof. So far as "we could gather from the Chinese they do not pay any "dues. The presidents deny having exercised any criminal jurisdiction or to have punished offenders. They "said that no man could go home if he owed any debts "to the merchants, because that was the agreement "among themselves. The steamship company, being interested in shipping them, agreed not to let them go. "* * We asked them if they had power to suppress "gambling-houses and houses of prostitution, and to "compel the people to keep clean. They said they had "not. They said they could advise but could not compel."

The several statements thus made accord so perfectly, they point so positively to the proposition that the six companies are essentially social and benevolent associations, that it seems unnecessary to make any further citations of evidence.

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 44.

There are those who will see in the facts as I have presented them, a certain danger, while, doubtless, many others would say that it is no man's interest to interfere with the companies. So far as they are mutual aid societies merely, they are, as I believe, beyond criticism. I believe further, that there is, in fact, no reason to complain that they offer to the Chinese in California an inexpensive way to settle disputes. Are not courts of arbitration distinctly favored by legislation? Are not individuals commended by public sentiment when they are able to call in disinterested friends to pass upon their questions, instead of resorting to the courts? Are not all the societies which exist among us given to disciplining their members? Can it be possible that these companies, some of which number tens of thousands of members, and whose only officers, so far as we have been able to discover, are their presidents, inspectors, and cooks, are really dangerous in any sense.

I assume now to say that the only proof of the statement that the Chinamen have set up tribunals in America, and that they have a *quasi* government of their own among us, is such as may be taken out of the constitution, purposes, and organization of the six companies. It would appear, however, that certain acts are attributed to the Chinese in general, and to the interference of those companies, which are exceptional, and which cannot be brought home to the one or the other any more than the organization and crimes of the Molly Maguires can be attributed to the society of St. Patrick, or to the Irish element of our population at large. This will appear from the following statements given in evidence before the committee of the California Senate.

I quote the testimony of Mr. James R. Rogers, a police officer, who was examined afterward before the Congressional commission;—[1]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 16.

"Q. Is it not understood that there is some sort of a "Chinese tribunal here which settles matters, and de-"termines whether Chinamen, arrested on criminal pro-'cesses emanating from our courts, shall be acquitted or "not. A. I do not know, of my own knowledge, that "such a tribunal exists. I only know that when a "Chinaman swears differently from what they want him "to, his life is in danger. A Chinaman has just returned "here after an absence of three years. A man was killed "by accident, and he was notified that he must pay "$1,200. His partner had a knife stuck in his back on "Jackson street, and he was told he must pay $1,200. "He asked me what he should do and I said not to pay "it. He said that they would kill him, or get Chinamen "to swear him into State's prison. They sometimes, in "that way, use our courts to enforce their orders just as "policy may direct. They have no regard for our laws, "and obey them so far as they do, only through fear."

The evidence does not go very far to sustain the *quasi* government theory to which senators and members of Congress have lent the support of their names, but such as it is, it deserves consideration. "I only know that "when a Chinaman swears differently from what they "want him to, his life is in danger." This is hearsay and report only, for it was not followed by proof of a case in which life had been lost under such circumstances. But as hearsay, if it points to anything, it points to this, that Chinese who have committed offences sometimes threaten other Chinese with vengeance if they divulge the facts. Perhaps white men do the same thing.

Again, "A man was killed by accident and he (some "other man, it is to be presumed) was notified that he "must pay $1,200." This is hearsay throughout. It may be that the friends of the deceased offered to compromise the case, to make no complaint, upon payment of $1,200.

It may be that the demand for $1,200 was a blackmailing operation.

Now, there is nothing certainly in the evidence that is not susceptible of ready explanation. One can only wonder that the honorable members of the California Senate did not probe the matter further, but perhaps they found here, as in the case of the presidents of the six companies, that the effort would not lead to a result which would serve their purposes.

This witness, Mr. Rogers, when called before the Congressional commission, and examined by Mr. Pixley, gave the following evidence;—[1]

"Q. Do you know anything in regard to the exist-"ence of tribunals among the Chinese; and can you "state any instance in which you had a right to suppose "that the transaction was governed by these Chinese "secret associations if they exist? A. Some two or "three years ago we had an institution, (whether it exists "to-day or not I do not know,) called the Hip Ye Tung "society, and we used every means and exertion to break "it up, and tried to find out the bottom of it but failed. "That that society did exist at that time there is no "doubt, but we were met by so many obstacles that it was "impossible to ferret it out.

"Q. Do you think that that institution has been "broken up? A. I think that it has been broken up "under that name. I cannot state the name. It was "given to me yesterday. I think the same institution ex-"ists under another name.

"Q. Can you name to the commission any incident "where crime has been protected, or money has been ex-"acted, by them or any other secret tribunal? A. Only "from rumor; nothing that I could give of my own "knowledge."

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 230.

It is well known that a society called Hip Ye Tung did exist in San Francisco, but there is no proof of it in the foregoing evidence. Still less is there any proof that the society, exercised the power of a *quasi* government. It may have been a band of criminals, of gamblers, of proprietors of brothels. To call it a secret tribunal would be forcing language to the last point.

A better light is thrown upon the Hip Ye Tung by the evidence of another witness, Alfred Clarke. As I may refer to his testimony in another place, I remark here only that he described it as an organization connected with the control of prostitutes, to enforce the subordination of prostitutes to their importers; an association of ruffians who might be expected to use any means whatever to intimidate credulous men, and still more credulous women, of their own stock, but who cannot by any process of reasoning be called the administrators of a *quasi* government, the pillars of an *imperium in imperio.*

Without pursuing this subject further, it may be said with justice, as I believe, although the evidence is suggestive of the facts rather than direct and positive, that there is in California a considerable number of lawless Chinese. Some of these doubtless have learned their evil ways in our own country, in the wild life of the mining regions, where, in times now happily passed, crime was not unknown among the various nationalities represented; and others in the midst of the vice of the centres of population in California. Others again belong doubtless to the class of fugitive criminals who have been driven out of their own country by fear of the law, or to find a free field for their avocations. To whichever class we may assign them we cannot deny that they find among us a large degree of immunity in wrong doing. There has been made by the State of California and by the city of San Francisco no serious effort to organize a system fitted to meet the difficulties occasioned by the presence of a large exotic population, differing from ourselves in language and habits of life. The State and the city should educate and employ permanently a corps of interpreters, some of whom should be attached to the offices of the superintendents of police, others to the courts and still others to the offices of superior administration. Not a few Chinese speaking policemen should be employed. These in all their respective grades should be so well paid and so certain of permanent employment as to secure continuous and faithful service. But neither the State of California, nor the city of San Francisco, nor any county or town of the State possess such an interpreter. The police offices and the courts depend upon persons casually employed to do such work. At one time it is a missionary, called away from his proper duties; at another a half educated Chinese; at another some one of our people who has picked up a smattering of Chinese. It is simply impossible that government can be well administered under these circumstances.

I venture here to make a comparison. For fourteen years I was consul general at Shanghai. There exist there three districts, adjoining one another, but delimited by certain natural boundaries. Within these are resident a foreign population of 3,000 persons, and a native population of 200,000. The management of police, &c., in all these districts falls upon the foreign residents, for the districts were originally set apart for them, and they instituted their own measures for the preservation of order, and of health, the making of roads, &c., and the Chinese who reside there have come in since and have been required, by concert of action between the foreign and native officials, to submit to local regulations. The affairs of police, &c., and the administration of justice, move on very satisfactorily. The whole district is as clean and well ordered as the best parts of San Francisco. Justice is administered by a native magistrate, asststed by official interpreters from the several consulates, and upon the criminal side, at least, no occasion for complaint arises.

Take the case again at Hong Kong. The number of the foreign and native population is not much different from that at Shanghae. It is a British colony, and the administration of affairs is simplified in consequence. Every traveler will be able to tell how perfectly the streets are kept, and how secure are life and property. We do not hear there, as we do not at Shanghae, of secret tribunals, &c. Reasonably intelligent efforts are made in those places to render the organization which deals with the Chinese, competent for its work, and superior to temptation, and the results have been such as to establish the fact that the Chinese are easily governed.

Scattered through the evidence taken before the Senate committee, are allegations that in some instances papers have been posted in San Francisco and Sacramento offering to pay a price for the murder of an individual named. I have never heard of such work in Shanghae or in Hong Kong, much less in any city under Chinese domination. There is evidence also that a witness who had reported against and caused the arrest of some person who had murdered one of our countrymen, was killed outright. I have not heard of such a thing in China. We can only conclude that our system is defective, and that it is time for Californian legislators to give practical attention to the control of the Chinese, instead of limiting their efforts to the preparation of measures like the cue-cutting ordinance, the cubic-feet-of-air law, &c., directed not against offenders, but against the Chinese as a class. There should be as much wisdom in San Francisco as in Shanghae or Hong Kong;

and if the 30,000 Chinese here cannot be controlled by all the force of our society, while mere handfuls of foreigners control them in the latter cities, we must acknowledge that there is something radically defective or inelastic in our institutions.

PART III.—CHAPTER VI.

OBJECTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED AGAINST THE CHINESE. THAT THEY WILL NOT ASSIMILATE WITH OUR PEOPLE.

The views of the Chinese on this matter. The doctrine of Confucius that all on earth are of one family. The teachings of Christ. Virtue the right basis of government. Treatment of foreigners in China compared with that of the Chinese in America. The "root" of the ill-treatment of the Chinese. Native Americans responsible. American race intolerance. Mr. Swift's views. "Better dissolve treaty relations." What is meant by assimilation. The Chinese intelligent, frugal, industrious and peaceable. Their treatment different from that accorded to other immigrants. The object is to deal justly with them and to leave assimilation to work itself out. The alleged failure should gratify anti-Chinese partisans. What is justice? The real danger lies in departure from sound rules. The social question outside of legislation. Efforts of the Chinese to adopt Western methods. The educational mission. Views of Prince Kung.

When one hears frequently reitterated the declaration that the Chinese will not assimilate with our people, he is likely, if he is a person who is desirous of forming intelligent opinions and of being just to all men, to inquire how this matter appears to the Chinese, and what they have to say about it. For undoubtedly there are two sides of this question as of most others.

I am able to present the view of the Chinese from the pen of one of their number who was resident, when he wrote it out, in America. It is a paper worthy to be read, because it is simply framed and yet pertinent and forcible. I commend it to my readers, moreover, as not in any way false to what I believe to be the ideas entertained by many of the Chinese;—[1]

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[1] Ch. and the U. S., p. 59.

"From the time of Pwan-ku till the present, a period "of many tens of thousands of years, there have been "born among us a host of sages. Gifted by Heaven, "they attained to exalted excellence. Their beneficent "influence extended not alone to those who were near, it "shed peace upon the nations. Still later Heaven pro-"duced a sage pre-eminent in his excellence, Confucius, "the great teacher of China. He combined what was "greatest and best in all that preceded him and became "the exemplar of all ages. As to things on high, he "showed men the peace of heaven; as to things on earth "he taught them virtue. The sages had the wisdom to "discover that all men on earth are one family. Now "what is meant in styling all men on earth one family? "It is, that the people of China, and of countries foreign "to it, are all embraced, as it were, in one great circle of "kindred, with its parents and children, its elder and "younger branches, its bonds of unity; the pervading "principle love; no one member debased, no one treated "with dislike. Again after several centuries Heaven "brought forth Jesus, and ordained Him to be a teacher "in foreign lands. This Jesus also taught mankind the "fear of Heaven. He showed that the chief end is to "pray for eternal life. He comprehended the reverence "due to Heaven, and the obligations of virtue. He was "in accord with the holy men of China. He looked "on all beneath the sky as one great family. He did not "permit the separation of men into classes, to be loved "or despised. But, if the religion of Jesus really teaches "the fear of Heaven, how does it come that the people "of your honorable country trample upon and hate the "race which Heaven loves, the Chinese? Should not "this be called rebellion against Heaven? And how is "it possible to receive this as of the religion of Heaven."

This is a plain argument, and will be recognized as a forcible one. It will surprise many as coming from a Chinaman. The next paragraph, however, breathes a still more exalted tone, and shows a wider intelligence.

"The wise men of China plant at the very foundation "of government the idea of virtue, not that of physical "power, just as do those who profess the religion of "Christ. Virtue is that which commands the intuitive "submission of the human will. Great vessels of war "and powerful artillery may destroy cities and devastate "a country. That is physical power. But moral power "is essentially different. The noblest illustration of moral "power is the teacher at the head of his school. It is the "spirit of man which deserves respect, not his form. If "the spirit be noble and good, although the man be poor "and humble, his features homely and his apparel mean, "we honor and love him. If the spirit be not so, though "the man have wealth and position, though his countenance be beautiful and his clothing rich, we regard him "with contempt. But we affirm that the people of your "honorable country dislike the Chinese, because they "see the plain appearance and the patched clothes of "our poor, and do not think how many spirits there are "among us whom they could respect and love."

There is nothing in all this savoring of prejudice against ourselves. It is the language of a man earnestly remonstrating against contumelious treatment. It is language which could only fall from the lips of a person full of a certain charity. "How many spirits are there "among us whom you could respect and love." And why not? Can it be otherwise when the people who come to us have possessed, as our writer states, the lessons of sages whom the whole world has learned to admire; have enjoyed a settled government for many centuries; have attained to no mean development of the arts. Are they contemptible men merely, these Chinamen who number a third of the human race. Is there no virtue in us that we cannot make it our work to learn whether there are not, in fact, many spirits among them "whom "we could respect and love."

"China," as our author continues, "possesses a trade "with all foreign lands. When a man from your country "arrives in China, none of our officers or people treat "him otherwise than with respect and kindness. When "he is defrauded or injured, if the matter is of slight "consequence, the offender is fined or beaten; in a grave "case, he forfeits his life. Even if there are no witnesses, "the officers must thoroughly inquire into the circumstances. In murders and brawls, if the criminal be not "discovered, the magistrate is called to account and degraded. When a foreigner commits a deed of violence, "a spirit of great leniency and care is manifested upon "the trial of the case. This is not because of a lack of "power to punish, but we sincerely dread to mar the beautiful idea of gentleness and benignity toward strangers "from afar."

"Now, why is it that when our people come to your "country, instead of being welcomed with respect and "kindness, they are, on the contrary, treated with contempt and evil? It happens even that many lose their "lives at the hands of lawless wretches. Yet, although "there are Chinese witnesses of the crime, their testimony "is rejected. The result is our abandonment to be murdered and our business to be ruined. How hard is it "for the spirit to bear such trials? It is true that some "persons hold that the Chinese are of no advantage to "the country. But can it be affirmed that we are of no "advantage? And, besides, it is to be considered that "we are universally a law-abiding people, and that our "conduct is different from the lawlessness and violence "of some other foreigners. Were it not that each so little

"understands the other's tongue, and mutual kind senti-
"ments are not communicated, would not more cordial
"intercourse exist?"

This still is not the language of prejudice. It is a well told, but kindly declaration of ill treatment and a pathetic appeal for "more cordial intercourse." It is not a refusal to adopt our manners and ways. It is the longing expression of a desire for justice as a common standing ground with us. It describes an ideal condition of things in China, but the ideal is one which the government of China has done much to inculcate among its people. It is a broad declaration of the peaceable tendencies of the Chinese, and this no man may gain-say. Their chief reproach among the nations is a lack of adaptation for war, and of capacity to defend themselves against attack. Who can say whether if those among us had shown a less peaceful temper, and had resented their injuries with quick falling blows, they would not have commanded respect from classes who regard a quiet disposition as an indication of weakness which may be safely trampled upon. The Negro among us was a quiet man too, and he paid the price of his gentle qualities in generations of bondage, and we the price of our wrong doings towards him in years of fearful war.

The writer of the paper from which I have quoted, proceeds to a more detailed statement of the injuries which have been inflicted on his people. I shall cite, however, only one paragraph more.

"The class that engages in gold digging is made up, as
"a whole, of poor people. We go on board the ships.
"There we find ourselves unaccustomed to winds and
"waves, and to the extremes of heat and cold. We eat
"little, we grieve much. Our appearance is plain, and our
"clothing poor. At once when we leave the vessel the
"boatmen extort heavy prices; all kinds of conveyances

"require from us more than the usual charges; as we go "on our way we are pushed, and kicked, and struck by "the drunken and the brutal; but we cannot speak your "language, we bear our injuries and pass on. Even "when within doors, rude boys throw sand, and bad men "stones after us. Passers by, instead of preventing these "provocations, add to them by their laughter. We go up to "the mines; there the collectors of licenses make unlawful "exactions, and robbers strip, plunder, wound, and even "murder some of us. Thus we are plunged into numberless uncommiserated wrongs. But the first root of them "all is that very degradation and contempt of the Chinese "as a race of which we have spoken, which begins with "your honorable nation, and which you communicate to "people of other countries, who carry it to greater "lengths. Now, what injury have we Chinese done to "your honorable people that they should thus turn upon "us and make us drink the cup of wrong even to its last "poisonous dregs."

Aside from the tone of patient remonstrance which characterizes this appeal for better treatment and for the recognition of brotherhood, there occurs in it, in the last paragraph, an intimation that it is not the class of foreigners who have paved the way for their abuse. It is boldly and distinctly asserted that contempt for the Chinese "begins with your honorable nation," and that the example which we set is "bettered" by the people of other countries. I am free to confess that the author of the appeal may be right in this statement. I know of no people who have seemed to me to have so many prejudices of race as ourselves. Whether it is due to our long contests with tribes of savages, the natives of the vast territory which we have occupied; or to the institution of slavery which took upon itself among us, the very worst features which slavery has ever exhibited;

whether it is a pride of stock stimulated by our successful conquests over the many difficulties attending the settlement of a new, and in some respects, an inhospitable region; or whether all these have combined to produce the result, it would seem that a Negro, in times now passing by as we may hope, or a Chinaman still, meets with a less ready reception from us than in any of the European nations. Forgetful of our Asiatic origin and descent, forgetful that our Saviour bore the dark hue of his nativity, we seem to cling to such prejudices with a tenacity that can only be loosened by rude shocks. And all the while we cry out, with what to Heaven must appear the grossest delusion and hypocrisy, that these other races resist our influences—that they will not assimilate. We hold them all at arms length and then throttle them because they will not approach nearer to us. This is our boasted liberality and generosity.

Take up the mirror, my countrymen, which the despised Chinaman has presented to your eyes. Withdraw your gaze for a moment from the "plain appear-" ance and poor clothing" of the man who holds it, and mark what you may observe.

I am well aware that my own remarks on this subject may be held up to derision, that it is not a likely thing that persons who have indulged in prejudices will admit the fact simply because they are told that such is their habit. To this I have a few words to present in answer. I shall take them from the mouth of a witness before the Congressional commission, who has been presented to the nation as a representative Californian. I allude to Mr. John F. Swift, of San Francisco, one of the commissioners recently appointed to readjust our relations with China.

He said ;—[1]

"They cannot assimilate, so that the next generation, "and the one after, and all the generations, will be equally "alien and ignorant, without speaking of the present "men, the individuals who happen to make up this community now, so that practically if we could see one "hundred or five hundred years from now, we should find "the same uneducated class of Chinamen, not speaking "our language, here temporarily. The number is kept "up, not by births, but by their importations, those here "dying or going back in their old age; so that they are "always the same degraded, ignorant class of people, "constantly striking against the sentiment of our people, "always hostile to it, always growing and increasing, and "more ugly and angry, having no interest in the country, "utterly valueless for defensive purposes, surely, when the "nation is fighting, as it must be at some time, for no "nation can be exempt from war. The strong prejudice "that has grown against them in this State is evidenced "by the facts which have been proven, which are undoubtedly true. I heard part of the testimony of the "Reverend Mr. Loomis, who has just testified. What he "said is true as to the strong prejudice of this community; it is a fact. It may be disagreeable; you may "think it is a pity; but it is human nature and it is our "nature. This prejudice has grown. It is ten times as "strong as it was ten years ago. In 1852 the Chinamen "were allowed to turn out and celebrate the Fourth of "July, and it was considered a happy thing. In 1862 "they would have been mobbed. In 1872 they would "have been burned at the stake. That element to the "statesman is surely a very important element to deal "with. We cannot overcome it; it grows and it must "be treated as a fact."

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 952.

Now all this is the language of extravagance and declamation. It is too extreme, too highly colored. If I have spoken strongly, this witness has outdone me a thousand times. But his talk indicates at least what he feels. It is said that you cannot tell what a man is from what he says of himself, but you may do so from what he says of others. He has spoken unadvisedly of the Chinamen and he has spoken unadvisedly of the people of California. The former are not the ugly, angry class which he depicts. The latter are not the passionate mob which he describes. But he is himself full of prejudice, and what is true of him is true of many others. He suggests what statesmen should do and he has been taken at his word. Educated, intelligent and enlightened according to his own views, he winds up his evidence with a broad proposition. What it is, he may say for himself;—[1]

"Q. In view of all the evils which you have stated here "in connection with this immigration, would you be willing "now to abrogate all treaty relations between the Uni-"ted States and China in order to stop this immigration?
"A. It cannot be stopped in any other way.

"Q. You would do that sir? A. Yes, sir."

That is to say, our witness has become so impressed with a given view, has allowed himself to so far magnify what he considers evils, and to shut his eyes to economical considerations, and considerations of duty, that he proposes deliberately to deny the "inalienable right of "man to change his home and allegiance," to throw overboard the traditions of our nation in this respect, and to draw between us and the Chinese, a wall of seclusion more effective than the wall which they erected centuries ago against the incursions of barbarians. Could human prejudice go further?

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 968.

It is not necessary to dwell longer upon the proposition that there are two sides of this question of assimilation, and that an intelligent doubt may be expressed whether the Chinese are more disposed to keep at a distance from us or we to keep them at a distance.

But what, after all, is meant by the vague phrase that the Chinese will not assimilate. It has been iterated and reiterated, but is it entirely certain that any one knows what is meant? Has it not owed some part of the influence which it has exerted to its very uncertainty and indefiniteness? I claim for the Chinese only that they shall be treated with even handed justice, and this claim is met at once by the mysterious declaration that they will not assimilate. What is it then which is wanted in this direction?

We have seen that the Chinese work in our fields, in our factories and upon our public works. They have been described for us as free men, as industrious, patient, pains taking, faithful, skillful, frugal, peaceable freemen. Can one ask more in these directions? Their competition is dreaded because they possess many of the qualities which make laborers useful to others and to themselves. They might lose some of these valuable characteristics and assimilate more closely in doing so to a part of the population of California. Would we have them do this?

We have seen that their merchants are shrewd, enterprising and honorable. We have found them upon 'change respected, even courted. In business relations, then, as in labor, they have not failed.

We have seen that they are open to the truths of revealed religion. The testimony of a minister who has been among them, and among many other nationalities, is, that when religious principles are brought to bear upon them they appreciate and exemplify them "just like other "people."

We have seen that in face of many special temptations crime is not more rampant among them than among ourselves.

We have seen that they care for their own sick and needy.

We have seen that they settle their differences and difficulties by friendly negotiation and arbitration.

We have seen that they appreciate the proposition that in the universe there is physical power and moral power, that the school teacher is the noblest illustration of the latter, and that it is virtue which, better than "great ships "of war or powerful artillery," commands "the intuitive "submission of the human will."

We have seen them pleading for us to believe that "there are spirits among them whom we could respect "and love," if we would but look beyond their "plain appearance and the patched clothes which they are "obliged to wear."

Do we ask more than this? Do we demand that men of a race whose traditions are different from ours, whose education and training are peculiar to themselves, should suddenly cast off devotion to their past and meet us on a common ground of social intercourse, their heads unshaven, their cues cut off, their bodies encased in tight fitting garments, that they shall eat potatoes rather than rice, and drink wine instead of tea? What then are these externals that we should pay so much attention to them? If the Chinese fulfill the purposes of life, if they have a decent regard for the future existence, must we still show discontent because their dress and some of their customs indicate their origin?

How is it that we treat other immigrants, and what do we expect from them? Do we ask the clod-hopper from Ireland, the operator from England, the peasant from France, or Italy, or Germany, into our drawing-rooms, and invite them to marry our daughters? Do we not admit their children to our public schools? Do we not encourage them to take an interest in our institutions by making them citizens? Do we treat the Chinaman in such manner?

There are questions in regard to race which I do not pretend to solve. That our origin was one I do not doubt. That differences which have grown up have resulted mainly from divergences of climate I believe. That institutions and systems mold the character of a people I feel sure. That our manhood is different, that there is not one common soul of humanity, that there is not one Providence for all, I deny. And where is the difficulty in resting right here? Why have we to make a better plan for the Almighty than He has made for Himself? Can we not be just above all things and leave consequences to take care of themselves? We no longer burn men at the stake or tear them limb from limb because they do not believe in the same dogmas of religion as we do. Must we refuse to allow them to wear their hair and their clothes as they like, to desire that their bones shall rest with those of their kindred?

It is possible to give free rein to the imagination, and to anticipate a flood of Chinese descending upon our coast, as the Huns and Vandals poured down upon Rome, but armed with the implements of peace rather than those of war. If the Huns and Vandals had so approached the Imperial City, the genius of the race would have found work for them to do, and might have utilized them to spread further its own domination and rule. It is possible for us to say that an overpress of peaceful insurgents may be inconvenient. But if so, why has it not occurred to men who use the non-assimilation proposition, that, so far as it has any merit, it tends to decrease the dangers which they have pictured. If we do not want the Chinamen among us, why do we complain because their love of native land, leads them to return to their own shores. If we congratulate ourselves that the broad Pacific rolls its floods between the seat of this dreaded stock and ourselves, why should we grieve that there are other barriers between us arising from differences of education partly, partly from differences of a deeper kind engendered by differences of climate and of habit?

I have said that I ask for justice, only, for this despised race. What does justice consist in? It does not demand the breaking down rudely of social barriers, but it does demand the admission of men to a place in our estimation graded according to their merits and their virtues. It does not demand that we should risk our safety and theirs by admitting them to a share in the control of government in advance of their education up to the requirements of intelligent citizenship, but it does demand that we should offer them opportunities, and encourage them to fit themselves for citizenship. It condemns the course of legislation, or of custom, in California which excludes their children from the schools. It condemns the systematic misrepresentation of the Chinese which has gone far to mislead the nation. It demands that the government should be far-reaching and consistent in its efforts to defend and to elevate the Chinaman. It sees no wisdom in failures to attempt to learn who these people are, and how they may be best dealt with. But beyond this I say nothing, and propose nothing. If, in the great future, and under such a system, the barrier of race keeps them to their side of the Pacific, there will be none to complain. If they are led by a reawakened national spirit to go abroad in a measure which I do not anticipate, and falling upon our shores to take part in our life and progress it will still be well. The only danger comes in when we refuse to deal with this people as with others, when excusing ourselves for our lack of forethought and wisdom, for our failure to be just, we keep them among us as an alien and indigested element. If they are law-abiding men at home, they may be kept so when among us. If they are faithful and intelligent in the ordinary avocations and relations of life, they may safely be trusted with the franchise, all in due season, not carelessly but as the result of well-devised and temperate legislation.

The social question is a part of the whole, but it is outside of the direct scope of legislation, and it may be safely left to settle itself. Legislation will, of course, affect it indirectly and very deeply, but it is not the business of legislators to say who shall be our friends and associates, or whom we shall marry. The wife of an able and accomplished Chinese known to many Americans is an estimable American lady. This fact has not discredited her among those who know her. It has not affected his position as a trusted officer of his government. What has happened in this instance will happen hereafter. The position of women in China is not all that is to be desired, and there will be much more in common between a Chinese educated among us and an educated lady of our own stock, than between the same man and the great mass of his countrywomen. These are all matters which cannot be determined by any hard and fast rules. Each individual must determine what will most conduce to his own happiness, and it may be said with certainty that what does this is best, not only for him, but also for the community in which he lives.

The Chinese Government has recently sent to the United States more than one hundred selected boys to be taught our language and our knowledge generally. It has intended to give them a career in the public service of their country after they return to their native land.

It is reasonable for that government to have many fears that these youths will become attached to our institutions and to our social life, and that they may be incapacitated in this way for their duties and life at home. It does entertain such fears. It has not that confidence in the natural bent of the Chinaman which those among us have who urge the non-assimilation theory.

It is too soon for us to determine what may result in the way of intercourse between us and the Chinese in the long future. It is less than thirty years since they began their migration to our shores. The period is too short to admit of the solution of all the questions involved. Yet, something may be predicated in view of what has occurred among us, and something in view of what is occurring in China. It was not an idle undertaking for China to send her young men to learn all that we are able to teach. It will be recognized in a few years, when these young men enter among ourselves upon offices connected with international intercourse, that China has done wisely, and the contrast with our own lack of foresight will be remarked upon. For not only has our government failed to educate or to employ one competent person in America to deal with the Chinese who are among us, but it has failed to educate any interpreters for our service in that country. We go about our affairs in a happy-go-lucky style that constantly subjects us to humiliating experiences, and deprives us of the opportunity to develop the best possible results from our intercourse. China has not been content, however, with the given experiment, and some others of the same sort, but she has established a central school at Peking and others at other points in the empire.

In doing these things, China has been actuated, it may be said, by no peaceful purpose, but to strengthen herself for the inevitable conflict with foreigners. I admit that such considerations have had weight, but these are not the only ones. Her government has come to recognize the fact that Western people have outstripped her own in the arts and science, and is ashamed of this condition of things. The memorial of Prince Kung, as chief secretary of state for foreign affairs, favoring the establishment of the imperial college at Peking is very much in point here. This whole paper is worthy of careful perusal, but I am able to reproduce only one or two brief extracts which, while characteristic of the document, illustrate the temper of the prince and the arguments by which he sustained the proposal. He says ;—[1]

"We have weighed this matter maturely before laying "it before the Throne. Among persons who are un-"acquainted with the subject, there are some who will "regard it as unimportant ; some who will censure us as "wrong in abandoning the methods of China for those of "the West ; and some who will denounce the proposal "that Chinese should submit to be instructed by people "of the West, as shameful in the extreme. Those who "urge such things are ignorant of the demands of the "the times.

"In the first place it is high time that some plan should "be devised for infusing new elements of strength into the "government of China. Those who understand the times "are of the opinion that the only way for effecting this, "is to introduce the learning and mechanical arts of the "Western nations. Provisional governors, such as Tsoh "Tsung Tang and Li Hung Chang, are firm in this con-"viction, and constantly presenting it in their addresses "to the Throne. The last mentioned officer last year "opened an arsenal for the manufacture of arms and "invited men and officers from the metropolitan garrison "to go there for instruction, while the other established

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[1] Hanlin Papers. p. 314.

"in Foo Chow a school for the study of foreign languages "and arts, with a view to the instruction of young men "in ship-building and the manufacture of engines. The "urgency of such studies is an opinion, therefore, which "is not confined to us, your servants.

"Should it be said that the purchase of firearms and "steamers has been tried, and found to be both cheap "and convenient, so that we may spare ourselves the "trouble and expense of home production, we reply that "it is not merely the manufacture of arms and the construction of ships that China needs to learn. But in "respect to these two objects, which is the wiser course "in view of the future, to content ourselves with purchase and leave the source of supply in the hands of "others, or to render ourselves independent by making "ourselves masters of their arts? * * In olden times "yeomen and common soldiers were all acquainted with "astronomy, but in later ages an interdict was put upon "it. In the reign of Kang Hi the prohibition was removed, and astronomical science once more began to "flourish. Mathematics were studied together with the "classics. A proverb says;—'A thing unknown is a "'scholar's shame.' Now, when a man of letters, on "stepping from his door, raises his eyes to the stars, and "is unable to tell what they are, is it not enough to make "him blush?

"As to the allegation that it is a shame to learn from "the people of the West, this is the absurdest charge of "all. For under the whole heaven the deepest disgrace "is that of being content to lag in the rear of others. "* * Not to be ashamed of an inferiority, and when a "measure is proposed by which we may equal or even "surpass our neighbors, to object that it is a shame to "learn from them, and refusing to learn, to be content "with inferiority, is not such meanness of spirit an indelible reproach?" *

This is not the language of unreasoning hatred. It is language which indicates respect for us, and an earnest desire not be surpassed by us in the struggle for political and industrial pre-eminence. It means the adoption of our ways so far as these may be necessary, to the end that China shall not remain behind her neighbors. She intends to assimilate her conditions to ours. It was written eighteen years ago, and already great strides have been made. Several machine-shops, ship-building yards and arsenals have been brought into existence and successfully operated. The national arms, strengthened by the adoption of more or less of our system and materials, have reconquered and pacified all the ancient territory of the State. A great steamship line, with more vessels and more tonnage than any of those under our own flag, is in successful working. Students from her schools are already passing abroad into her missions and consulates. Her renaissance is so far acknowledged that European States are disposed to seek, or to prevent, alliances with her.

Is it not time then, in view of the qualities exhibited by Chinamen upon our own soil, in view of the illiberality which has characterized our treatment of them, in view of the progress which China is herself making, and in view of our common humanity, to drop this cry that the Chinese do not assimilate, and to devote ourselves to a policy which will be more just at the moment and which will conduce to build up relations of enduring respect and profit between the two great nations of the opposite coasts of the Pacific?

PART III.—CHAPTER VII.

OBJECTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ADVANCED AGAINST THE CHINESE. PROSTITUTION, GAMBLING, CRIMINALS, DISEASED PERSONS.

Prostitution a natural result of the circumstances. It should be suppressed. The attempt to hold prostitutes in a condition of semi-slavery. The supply comes from Hong Kong and can be completely cut off. Statement of the means which may be adopted. What has been done already in this connection. Disposition of the Chinese government. How prostitutes come to America. The nature of their control. The Hip Ye Tung band. An attempt to break up the band and the cause of failure. The efforts of the six companies to suppress prostitution. Police officers share in the profits. The local police system. Officers directly dependent upon the support of gamblers, &c. Evidence of the six companies. Money payment to police. Testimony of Mr. Rogers, Mr. McKenzie, Wong Ben, Ah Chung. The police system has been improved of late. Difficulties attending government in California. Fugitive criminals. Diseased persons. Contract-laborers. Evils may be grappled with under existing treaties.

My readers will have learned from the preceding chapters that I adhere strongly to the proposition that the Chinese have added greatly to the wealth of California, and to the convenience, comfort and success of her people. They will have learned also that I dispute earnestly the statement that they are a servile class, that they interfere with the labor of our people, that they send money out of the country, that they have set up a *quasi* government of their own upon our soil, and that they do not accommodate themselves to the requirements of our life and organization. I shall present in this chapter certain further objections which have been urged against them and which in my opinion demand attention. I allude to the prostitution which is found among them, to the fact that they are given to gambling, that there are among them undoubted criminals, some of whom are fugitives from their own country, and that forms of disease exist among them which may possibly be a source of danger to us.

If we assume that there are 75,000 Chinese in California, that considerable portions of this number are resident in San Francisco and in other cities, and that nearly all of them are adult males who are unmarried or absent from their families, we at once picture a condition of things from which we should expect certain evil consequences, and first of all prostitution.

I do not need to dwell upon this proposition nor to extend remarks in regard to the conditions which usually attend prostitution. It is a loathesome thing in its least objectionable forms. It is because it takes upon itself forms among the Chinese in California which are particularly objectionable that it demands more earnest attention.

One may say, at once, that prostitution is not easily dealt with, and that certain governments, finding themselves unable to suppress it, have proposed to regulate and control it. I advocate no such idea, and I do not believe that the people of America are disposed to do so, in any measure. If there exist reasons why this should be attempted anywhere, certainly they exist in a city like San Francisco, and as respects the Chinese; but to my mind it is not desirable anywhere, or under any circumstances, to compromise with iniquity. It is not the part of morality; it is not, as I believe, conducive to public interest. At best, we cut off in such fashion some of the unfortunate results only, while we increase demoralizing effects. The licensing of brothels and gambling houses, under the assumed plea that we may thus control them, is a specious kind of proposition which can only be put forward and acted upon in communities where the moral tone has been brought down to a low level, or distinctions between right and wrong have been refined away by sophistry. It has been proposed, over and over again, by foreigners at the open ports in China, as respects the districts managed by them, but it is to the credit of the Chinese authorities that they have persistently set their faces against the plan.

One may say, again, that San Fransisco is full of white prostitutes, and that there is no occasion to be over sensitive at the failures of the Chinese in this respect. I am not now dealing with questions which are outside of the range of my proper inquiry. If prostitution is rampant among our people there, if, as is said, more white women of this degraded kind are found upon the outskirts of the Chinese part of the city than Chinese women within it, that is a matter for the people of the city to deal with, and we may assume that they are dealing with it in a more or less successful manner. They deserve sympathy in such efforts, and they deserve sympathy in their expressions of regret that they do not succeed well there or within the limits of the Chinese district.

It may be doubted whether the evils to our own people, arising from the presence of Chinese prostitutes, are so great as they have been represented to be, and whether an earnest effort should not be made to cleanse our own house before we turn to that of the Chinese. All this, however, is a question of degree and of good taste, but does not affect the proposition that we should do away with the evil wherever and however we find it existing. If an offensive ulcer exists upon one part of a patient who is under treatment, it is not neglected because there are other sores upon his body. If San Francisco needs cleansing, as all cities do, the operation may be carried forward at all practicable points, and it would be the height of folly to say that we should hold back our hands at one place because it is difficult to carry out the necessary measures everywhere.

It is a matter beyond doubt, that joined to the system of prostitution among the Chinese in California, and a part of it, is a system of slavery; that the women are largely imported and held under contract by their importers. How this is done I shall explain later; at present I desire to point out a means to strike at the whole system.

I shall not now attempt to speak of the local legislation which may be enacted, or the administrative measures which may be set in operation to deal with the prostitutes who are already in the country. The salient fact which I desire to point out is, that unlike the case of white prostitution, there is no local supply of Chinese women, and that if they are prevented from leaving their own shores, the very root of the evil is destroyed.

Attempts have been made to do this, which I am satisfied have been earnest and persistent. All such women leave the port of Hong Kong. As Hong Kong is a British colony, the consulate there is independent of our consular and diplomatic establishment in China, and I know comparatively little of the manner in which it has been worked. I find evidence, however, in the report of the Congressional committee that it has been usual for the consul or a deputy to examine carefully all women proposing to go to the United States, and to refuse to pass for emigration those who belong to the class in question. Those permitted to go were obliged to hand in to the consul their photographs, and these were transmitted to the custom officers at San Francisco in order that no deception should occur as to the persons passed. So much has been done under existing laws and regulations, and there is great reason to believe, that very good results have been brought about. It appears that in March, 1875, an Act of Congress was approved by the President, providing measures to be taken to prevent the landing of prostitutes and convicts, and that the examinations made by the consul were devised by him to enable the customs officers at San Francisco to enforce the law more perfectly. The actual results accomplished were stated in evidence before the commission by Mr. Giles H. Gray, surveyor of the port of San Francisco, as follows ;—[1]

"Previous to this time there had arrived upon the
"steamers, frequently, from 200 to 400 women. During
"the quarter ending 30th September, 1875, there arrived
"161 females, and we had no information which would
"enable us to prohibit the landing of any of them. The
"next quarter, (that is to say, after the examinations of
"the consul had begun,) the number of females was
"reduced to forty-four, and in the first quarter of 1876, it
"was reduced to fifteen. In the second quarter the
"number was thirty-two, and in the third, twenty-four.
"The women who have been landed since we commenced
"to enforce the Page law, I have every reason to believe
"are respectable women, and they are accompanied by a
"letter—a certificate like this. (Producing a letter). The
"envelope contains a letter from the consul, a photograph
"of the woman, and a certificate in English and Chinese."

The witness felt confident that the consul's examinations were so searching and thorough that he had succeeded in prevented prostitutes from leaving Hong Kong for San Francisco. In this he was more or less mistaken.

It is notorious that our consulates generally are filled by inexperienced men. There has not been an officer at Hong Kong in the last twelve years who could speak the

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 388.

Chinese language. While this is true, the government has failed during that period to provide for the cost of employing there a competent interpreter, or any other subordinate officer whatever. I do not know the details of the working of the office, but I speak from a a general knowledge of the appropriations made by Congress. It is not possible to expect good results under such circumstances. However this may be, there is the further difficulty that even an experienced officer, and one acquainted with the Chinese language and the practices of the Chinese people, cannot say with certainty whether a given applicant does or does not belong to the prostitute class. He may have his opinions; he may be able to ferret out facts, but after all he can only reach approximately satisfactory results. It was proven in evidence before the commission, that twelve women, out of a number represented by forty-eight photographs of persons passed by the consul, had been found in San Francisco under circumstances which indicated that they were in all probability prostitutes.[1]

The simple truth of the matter is, that an examination, to be thorough, must be made by Chinese officials acting conjointly with our own.

In saying this I speak from my general experience, from a common sense point of view, and from an incident within my own administration of consular functions, although perhaps not five persons in a year applied to me during my fourteen years charge of the consulate general at Shanghae, to be passed for emigration. On one occasion several women appeared and were questioned by a subordinate officer, who reported to me his failure to elicit information of a positive nature. They were all good looking young women, who said simply that their husbands were in California, and that they desired to join them. Under these circumstances, unwilling to do them injustice, yet seriously doubting their story and the various replies made to me, I referred the matter to the native magistrate of the district, who with an interpreter from my own office, succeeded in demonstrating that they were prostitutes. I believe that no other kind of examination can give reasonably certain results.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1142.

It may be said that the women all leave Hong Kong, and that as Hong Kong is a British colony, the intervention of a native magistrate cannot be procured there. While this is true, it may be said again, on the other hand, that the women are with rare exceptions, subjects of China, and that they ought to be relegated back to Canton for examination before a magistrate and a consular officer, the consul at Hong Kong passing no woman not passed by the board there, or who had failed to prove naturalization under the laws of the colony. The two ports are adjacent to one another, and constant and inexpensive steam communication between them exists. Such a scheme would need the approval not only of our own government but also that of China.

If it is asked whether the Chinese government would give it approval I can only respond that I am satisfied it would do so. In saying this I desire it to be distinctly understood that, as to whatever has passed between the Chinese government and myself in regard to all the various questions which have come up between that government and our own, I intend to preserve at the moment that reticence which is becoming in an officer who holds or has held a diplomatic position. The United States government has the right to publish or disclose diplomatic correspondence. The Chinese have the same right, but the individual agent has not. He may believe that it would conduce to public interest if he should do so. He may think that the reserve which is so appropriate to his position may often subject him to adverse and unjust criticism and censure. No man is a fit agent, however, who does not subordinate himself to the duties incident to his position. The members of the present commission to China have been quoted in the newspapers as expressing certain views, as finding the Secretary of State in sympathy with them, and as making public what is to be undertaken by the commission at Peking. To criticism for that sort of thing I have not subjected myself in the past, and I do not propose to do so now, although my official functions have ceased.

The way then to strike at Chinese prostitution in America is to strike at the supply of prostitutes, and the means are simple. If we add to the efficiency of the consulate at Hong Kong we will add much to the chances of good results. If we go further and in concert with the Chinese government arrange measures under which both governments may co-operate, we will accomplish still more. And looking to what has been done by the consul at Hong Kong under circumstances of difficulty, it would appear that the evil may be very successfully dealt with, so far as the prevention of the immigration of abandoned Chinese women is concerned.

While I do not desire to say anything in regard to the control of the Chinese prostitutes already in our country, that is to say, to point out the legislative or administrative measures which are needed here, I may appropriately and usefully extend my remarks so far as to indicate the special evils which characterize their prostitution.

It will be manifest to the most careless observer that Chinese women have not made their way to California unassisted. They are members of a timid race, and they are women, who as such are constitutionally timid. They are unlikely, therefore, as individuals or in companies, to come to our shores by themselves. That the women of more experience of their class have promoted such immigration is undoubted, but the scene is distant and they would not be likely to enter upon such enterprises without the assistance of the more courageous sex. I speak in this respect from a consideration of the circumstances rather than from facts proven in evidence, but there is evidence at least that, once upon our soil, these women are protected or controlled by men. This will appear from what follows.

The Reverend Mr. Gibson, when examined before the Congressional committee, testified that he had translated from the original Chinese two contracts in regard to prostitution, which are as follows;—[1]

"An agreement to assist the woman Ah Ho, because "coming from China to San Francisco she became in"debted to her mistress for her passage. Ah Ho herself "asks Mr. Yee Kwan to advance for her $630, for which "Ah Ho distinctly agrees to give her body to Mr. Yee "for service for a term of four years.

"There shall be no interest on the money. Ah Ho "shall receive no wages. At the expiration of four years "Ah Ho shall be her own mistress. Mr. Yee Kwan shall "not hinder or trouble her. If Ah Ho runs away before "her time is out, her mistress shall find her and return "her, and whatever expense is incurred in finding her and "returning her, Ah Ho shall pay.

"On this day of the agreement Ah Ho has received "with her own hands, from Mr. Yee Kwan $630.

"If Ah Ho shall be sick at any time for more than ten "days she shall make up by an extra month of service "for any ten days sickness.

"Now this agreement is proof. This paper received "by Ah Ho is witness.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 145.

"Tung Chee, 12th year, 9th month, 14th day."

(October, 1873.)

"An agreement to assist a young girl named Loi Yan. "Because she became indebted to her mistress for passage, food, &c., and has nothing to pay, she makes her "body over to the woman Sep Sam, to serve as a prostitute to make out the sum of $503. The money shall "draw no interest and Loi Yan shall receive no wages. "Loi Yan shall serve four and a half years. On this day "of agreement Loi Yan receives the sum of $503 in her "own hands. When the time is out Loi Yan may be her "own mistress and no man shall trouble her. If she runs "away before the time is out and any expense is incurred in catching her, then Loi Yan must pay that "expense. If she is sick fifteen days or more, then she "must make up one month for every fifteen days. If "Sep Sam should go back to China, then Loi Yan shall "serve another party till her time is out. If in such service she should be sick one hundred days or more, and "cannot be cured she may return to Sep Sam's place. "For proof of this agreement this paper.

"Dated 2d day 6th month, 15th year."

(About Sept., 1876.)

A witness named Alfred Clarke, a clerk in the police office, examined before the commission, gave evidence in regard to the means used to enforce these contracts, as follows;—[1]

"Q. Suppose a Chinawoman escapes, what do the "owners do? A. Follow her and take her back. If "they fail they generally have her arrested for larceny, "and get possession in that way. They use the processes of our courts to keep these women in a state of "slavery. They do not let them get out of their clutches "if they can help it, for they know that there is no legal

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 146.

"way of reclaiming them. The six companies do not "manage this woman business; it is under the management of an independent company, the Hip Ye Tung. "Whether they import the women, I do not know, but "they look after affairs here. A Chinaman married a "woman at Gibson's," (out of a refuge provided by Mr. Gibson for fugitives of this class,) "and after the marriage received notice that he must pay for the woman "or be dealt with according to the Chinese custom. He "was made to believe that he would suffer personally if "he did not comply with their demands. Acting upon "information we arrested a number of persons and got 'some of their books which we had translated. On the "rolls there were I think 170 women. Seven or eight "Chinamen were arrested, but all the witnesses we could "get for the prosecution did not amount to more than "three or four, and no conviction was had."

This Hip Ye Tung society here mentioned, and of which we have heard elsewhere, is thus described by Mr. Gibson in his book on the Chinese in America;—[1]

"Associations of Chinese villains and cut-throats have "been formed for the purpose of protecting the owners "of women and girls in their property rights, and of doing any other villainous business that comes to hand. "The San Francisco press know these men by the name "of 'Highbinders.' The name of the principal association or company is 'Hip Ye Tung.' For each Chinese "woman brought into the country, and sold into prostitution, under the protection of this society, the sum of "forty dollars is levied as a fund with which to carry on "its operations, and to pay the desperadoes who execute "its orders. A small weekly or monthly tax is also "levied upon each woman as a fund with which to carry "on its operations, and to pay the desperadoes who exe-

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[1] P. 137.

"cute its orders. According to a multitude of Chinese "statements, and according to direct evidence before the "Senate investigating committee, a part of this blood "money goes into the pockets of special policemen. "Some of these men have become rich from these fees "and gamblers bribes. Chinese women have been taken "from the steamers to some room or barracoon in China "town and kept under the surveillance of a special police"man until the fees were paid and sales made."

Having thus told the purposes of the Hip Ye Tung, Mr. Gibson proceeds to describe what occurred in a given case, the same, doubtless, as that mentioned by Mr. Clarke ;—

"In the summer of 1873, a Chinaman, by the name of "Yet Sung, assisted three Chinese women to escape from "a den of prostitution, and to find their way to the "Methodist mission-house, 916 Washington street. Yet "Sung proposed to marry one of the girls, and certain of "his acquaintances proposed to marry the other two. "The girls accepted the propositions. The men procured "licenses, and were duly married. A few weeks after, "Yet Sung and his wife came in great terror to the mis"sion-house and asked for protection. The former owner "of the girl, failing to collect her value, had brought the "case before the Hip Ye Tung society, and one of their "destroying angels had demanded her return or three "hundred and fifty dollars. Unwilling to pay the money, "and unwilling to give up the woman, Yet Sung had "been dragged before the associated villians, in their "secret council chamber, and given three weeks in which "to choose whether to return the woman, or the assumed "value, three hundred and fifty dollars, or to be assas"sinated. Two of Yet Sung's friends were present, and "witnessed the proceedings. After consultation with "certain lawyers, I assisted Yet Sung in having eight of "the leading Hip Ye Tung men arrested on a charge of "conspiracy to extort money. The case was tried in the "police court. To the credit of the Chinese merchants, "I may say that more than fifty of them called me to a "private interview, and encouraged me to go on, promising to aid me in every possible way. Of their own "accord, they employed the best legal counsel in the "city to aid the prosecuting attorney of the police court."

The course of Mr. Gibson, in attempting to bring the members of this society, or, to speak more accurately, this band of wrong-doers, to accountability in a court of law, deserves commendation of a positive sort. It is probable that they resort to intimidation rather than violence; yet, if they come from the class of fugitive criminals from China, their capacity to do harm may be estimated. It is possible that Mr. Gibson, the fearless defender of the rights of the Chinese when abused, the equally bold denouncer of their offences, in taking the course which he did, subjected himself to a degree of personal danger.

The course of the Chinese merchants is equally creditable, but it is only what one acquainted with their class would have expected from them. Recognizing the evils attending the prostitution of their country women, they have on more than one occasion, made efforts to mitigate them. In the given instance, it seems that, unsolicited, they employed a lawyer, whose name stands hardly second at the San Francisco bar, to aid in the prosecution of the Hip Ye Tung men. Mr. Clarke has stated that the books of the band had been seized, and that a list of 170 women had been found in them. The case was one, then, in which the opportunities to break up the operations of the crew appeared excellent.

The result I leave Mr. Gibson's narrative to disclose. I esteem him a just and intelligent man, but I would willingly believe that a lack of acquaintance with legal procedure has given him wrong impressions of what occurred. He tells the story as follows ;—

"For some unaccountable reason the prosecuting at- "torney refused to allow Mr. McAllister, the counsel "employed by the Chinese merchants to aid him, or to "take part in the prosecution ; refused to bring forward "the official records of the society, which had been seized "with the men, and which contained the names of the "eight defendants as officers of the Hip Ye Tung. His "whole conduct showed that he did not wish a conviction, "and would not have it if he could prevent it. However, "Yet Sung and his two friends testified to facts as above "mentioned. The defendants, each simply denied the "same ; claimed that they did not belong to the Hip Ye "Tung, and brought forward two Chinese witnesses to "testify for each defendant that they were all good and "true men. To the astonishment and disappointment of "all respectable people who had noticed the case, the "jury rendered a verdict of acquittal."

Mr. Gibson has been consistent in his statements that the Chinese villains of the Hip Ye Tung class, are actively assisted by our own people. He gave, for in-instance, a description of that organization to the Senate committee, as sworn testimony, and among other similar declarations made by him at that time, will be found the following ;—[1]

"A portion of the profits arising from this business "goes to the Chinese, and a portion to men not Chinese. " * * There is collected for each woman imported as "a prostitute forty dollars. Of that, ten dollars goes to "white men. Twenty-five cents a week, or month—I "forget which—is levied on each woman, and part of this "goes to white men. Gambling-houses pay five dollars a

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 34.

"week to certain policemen for the privilege of keeping "open."

This evidence is not by any means all of the kind that was presented to the Senate committee. It appears indeed, that the presidents of the six companies made a statement on the subject to the committee. I find at least that Mr. Donovan, one of the members of the committee, in examining Mr. George W. Duffield, a police-officer of San Francisco, used the following language;—[1]

"Q. The heads of the companies told us that the "gambling-houses had been in the habit of raising and "paying money to men at the City Hall, to secure them-"selves from interference, and the same thing in regard "to prostitution. They said that if we would get honest "American officers, there would be no more gambling "and prostitution in Chinatown; but until that time they "will continue to exist. This was told us by the heads "of the companies, the six presidents being present?

To this the witness responded, with an audacity which is suggestive;—

"In answer to that, I will state that all those men talk-"ing to you were interested in those gambling houses."

And to the next question;—"How is this population," the Chinese of San Francisco generally, "as to criminal "propensities?" the witness with equal promptness, responded;—

"They are a nation of thieves. I have never seen one "that would not steal."

It appears that there exists in San Francisco a corps of special or local policemen, who are not paid by the city, but derive their incomes from subscriptions of residents upon the beats assigned to them by the general police authorities. It is a way of sustaining a large police force, apparently, without making a large appropriation from the municipal funds. How far the general police authorities attempt to control these men I do not know, but each one is allowed to wear the uniform of the force, and a badge like that of other officers marked, however, with words indicating that they are "special" officers. One does not need to have had some experience in administrative affairs to know that such a system is faulty in the extreme, that it is utterly impossible to control adequately such a body of men, and that their existence must tend to demoralize the members of the regular force.

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 48.

Referring to this class of officers, Mr. Haymond, chairman of the Senate committee, while examining Mr. James R. Rogers, from whose evidence before the Congressional committee I have already quoted freely, asked the following question and received the following answer ;—[1]

"Q. Do you know what wages local policemen get on "an average? A. They get all they can. The exact "amounts I cannot tell, but they are all good beats. The "officers are all thorough, first-class officers. I consider "them as fine officers as there are on the force. I have "had them to assist me several times, and have always "found them up to the mark. The local system is pretty "good in some respects, it furnishes a guard for the "Chinese quarter when the local police could not do it. "They make a great many arrests and recover much "stolen property."

Having passed this eulogy on the class of special or local policemen, confessing in terms the inadequacy of the regular force, and by inference his own crass ignorance of a sound system of police and of human nature at large, he was asked a further question ;—

"Q. Suppose there were officers, regular policemen,

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 62.

"on those beats receiving no pay, (excepting from the "city,) don't you think they could stop gambling and "prostitution?" And to this he responded, with perhaps a nearer approximation to accuracy;—"Yes, if they "did their duty. There is hardly an ordinance that is "not violated by the Chinese, and not one that cannot "be enforced. They have an idea that money is at the "bottom of the whole thing, and that, if they want, they "can buy privileges. They don't understand the city "treasury. I have had them ask how much I get, how "much the chief, how much the judge."

It would appear then that the presidents of the six companies have the support of this officer in their statement that gambling and prostitution will cease so soon as honest officers are employed.

The evidence of the witness went further;—

"Q. Do you know of the Chinese paying money to "persons other than special policemen, for the purpose of "protecting themselves in their business? A. I have "been told so by Chinamen. Chinese who collected the "money told me of its payment. The Chinaman was "Ah You, the keeper of a store and gambling house.

"Q. To whom did he pay money? A. ———[1] "Five hundred dollars a month.

"Q. For what purpose? A. He said he paid it for "the gambling houses to secure freedom from interruption. He said so much money was paid per month; it "was collected from the games and stores. One hundred "dollars went to the store," (to himself for his trouble?) "and the balance to ———.

"Q. For what purpose? A. Allowing gambling "houses to run."

It is possible that many of the special policemen having to do with the Chinese quarter in San Francisco are above temptation. It will be seen, however, that they are subjected to many temptations, and that even when they refuse money for allowing prostitution and gambling to go on, it becomes, their interest to wink at it. They are paid by voluntary subscriptions of the householders. As the witness has said, "They get all they can." The difference in their gettings, as affected by their activity or lack of activity, is suggested by the following evidence, given to the Senate committee by local officer, Andrew McKenzie;—[1]

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[1] The suppression of the name occurs in the printed report.

"Q. Are there gambling houses on your beat? A. "There have been, but they have been closed within the "last two weeks.

"Q. How many were there before? A. About "twenty. We have never entirely suppressed gambling, "but generally managed to keep it under some restraint. "We have driven it and prostitution to the back streets, "and off the street itself.

"Q. You are paid by the Chinese, are you not? A. "Yes, sir.

"Q. And a large part of your pay comes from these "gamblers and prostitutes? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Does the closing of these houses affect your salary to any great extent? A. Yes, sir. We do not "make such big collections. There is a dark hour in "all kinds of business, and this is our dark hour just "now."

This evidence was given on the 19th day of April, 1876. The sessions of the committee in San Francisco began on the 11th of that month. The "dark hour in "business" of our witness began, probably, when the time for the committee to open its sessions, approached. How long it lasted may be inferred.

Another witness examined by the Senate committee was Wong Ben, a man half educated in the English language, who would appear to be an honest person, endeavoring, according to the best light he had, to make a struggle against the gambling and prostitute brokers, in the interest of "young boys who come here and spend "all their money in gambling houses and houses of prostitution."[1]

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 88.

"Q. How long have you been in California? A. "Nearly thirteen years.

"Q. Where did you come from—what part of China? "A. Canton.

"Q. What have you been doing since you came to "California? A. Acting as interpreter, for a while, in "the police and county courts.

"Q. How long is it since you learned to speak English? A. About ten years.

"Q. Where do you live now? A. I live here, in "San Francisco.

"Q. Were you a witness in the police court yesterday, when some of the Chinese prostitutes were tried? "A. Yes; we tried to break up that business. Last "year I had two boys with me, and we tried to break up "the gambling-houses and houses of prostitution. We "tried to have the policemen arrest the keepers, but "Charley Duffield kicked the boy in the head, and told "him to go away. He would not let us go into the "gambling-houses to see who were there, so that we "could have them arrested.

"Q. Are you helping the police? A. Yes, sir. "Charley Duffield told us we had no reason to go "against the keepers of these houses.

"Q. Who are these keepers? A. Wong Woon, a "big fellow, who keeps a house of prostitution. An Geo, "another big fellow—every time a woman gets into

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 99.

"trouble he gets her out. He goes and collects commis-"sion from women and makes them pay so much a "month. He gets lawyers for the gamblers, too, and "collects five dollars one week, and ten dollars a month.

"Q. Are these men merchants? A. No; they keep "gambling-houses, and houses of prostitution. They "buy women in China, and bring them here to be pros-"titutes—and they sell them again here.

"Q. What do they say if you testify? A. They put "up one thousand five hundred dollars to put my life "out. They tell me if that don't do it they will put up "two thousand dollars, and then three thousand dollars. "He told me last night he would give me one hundred "and fifty dollars if I would not say anything, and that I "must take it, or I would have my life put out. Wong "Woon and An Geo collect thirteen dollars each month "from gambling-houses, eight dollars a month from lot-"tery-houses, then five dollars a week more from gam-"blers. They tell me I must not go against them, and "they would give me money. If I would not take it "they would put my life out. I won't take it, because "young boys come here and spend all their money in "gambling-houses and houses of prostitution, and by-"and-by he hasn't got a cent. He can't go home. Why? "Because he can't go, for he gambled off his money. "When he sees that he works all the time and never has "a cent, he thinks it is no use to work any more, and so "becomes a loafer on the street.

"Q. Who bring the Chinese women here? A. "Wong Fook Soi, Bi Chee, An Geo, and Wong Woon.

"Q. What do these men do? A. They keep gamb-"ling-houses and houses of prostitution.

"Q. What do they do with the women? A. They "make them be prostitutes. If they don't want to be "prostitutes they make them be.

"Q. Can they get away? A. No, sir.

"Q. What do they do with them when they get sick "and cannot work any longer? A. They don't treat "them well at all. They don't take as much care of "them, whether they are sick or well, as white people do "a dog. Chinawomen in China are treated first rate, "but in California these 'big feet' women are treated "worse than dogs.

"Q. How many Chinese prostitutes are there in this "city? A. Take in the high-toned prostitutes, those "that live up-stairs, and I guess there are about eight "hundred.

"Q. Do you know what the six companies are? A. "Yes, sir.

"Q. Do they have anything to do with these women? "A. No, sir.

"Q. How do Chinese come to this country—do the "companies bring them here? A. No. The companies only take care of them when they come here. "Then they don't know the place and the language, "and the companies look after them. The women are "taken care of and brought here by these big fellows I "mentioned.

"Q. How many gambling-houses are there here? A. "An Geo, Wong Woon, and those big fellows have got "six big houses.

"How many smaller ones? A. Seventy-five or seventy-six. Last year I got two boys and we counted eighty-two gambling-houses in this city. Duffield said if we "didn't stop he would break our heads.

"Q. Who is Duffield? A. He is a policeman who "watches houses of prostitution and gambling-houses. "He gets lots of money.

"Q. How much? A. Five dollars a week from the "gambling-houses, and four bits a week from each prostitute.

"Q. How many women have been arrested to be tried "to-day? A. I have forgotten. The first day we got nine. "I don't know how many they got this next time. Yesterday, when the trial was coming on, these big boss "fellows with lots of money scared off the witnesses. I "tried to make them not afraid; but it was of no use.

"Q. Suppose a Chinawoman got away, what would "they do? A. Sometimes her owners put up money to "get her back again; sometimes they make the man who "got her pay money to them for her. If a man take a "woman away from a house of prostitution, they tell him "they put his life out.

"Q. Do you know of any Chinamen being killed for "taking away women from those houses? A. One boy "got killed up in Ross alley nearly four years ago. These "big fellows hired men to kill him. Three men ran up "and shot him, and ran a knife into him; and that is the "reason other boys are afraid to help women.

"Q. How old were you when you came to California? "A. About nine years old.

"Q. How old are you now? A. Nearly twenty-"four.

"Q. How many gambling-houses were there two "months ago? A. Over eighty.

"Q. How much a month do they pay the police? "A. Five dollars a week each one. These four big fel-"lows, besides that, collect thirteen dollars a month to "pay a white man to get them out of trouble. The lot-"tery-houses pay eight dollars a month.

"Q. How many lottery-houses are there? A. Two "or three hundred. When I have tried to get into gamb-"ling-houses to see who were there, so I could arrest "them, they wouldn't let me in. The bosses tell them, "when they see me coming, to shut the door. I get a "green boy from the mountains to go into a house of "prostitution, so he can talk and see what kind of a "house it is, so I can make him swear.

"Q. Whom are you assisting in this matter? A. "The boys working in this city here make twenty or "twenty-five dollars a month, and they spend this in the "houses of prostitution and gamble it off. They come "to me and say;—'You get the gambling-houses and "'houses of prostitution shut up, and you will be a great "'man.' Charley Duffield put one fellow in jail one "hundred days for nothing, because he was helping me. "Yesterday I had ten or twelve boys to swear in Court "against the gamblers and the prostitute fellows. I "told them not to be afraid, that nothing would happen "to them. When they found out that they would get "hurt if they swore, they all ran away. They put up a "notice on the wall to put out my life for one thousand "and five hundred dollars, but when I went to get it they "tore it down.

"Q. Did you ever see any other notices offering rewards for killing Chinamen? A. Plenty of them.

"Q. Where do they have them posted? A. On a "five-story house on Jackson street. These big fellows "had a place where they kept their books and money, "and a list of all the men interested in gambling-houses "and houses of prostitution. I knew I could not get in "there, and told Ying Low to go there and see if he saw "any books on the table. The first time he saw plenty "books, and I went and got policemen to go there, but "those big fellows all cleared out. I think they will have "another meeting in two weeks or ten days, and I guess "I can catch them then. Last month Wong Woon put "up eight thousand dollars, that he got from gamblers to "fight the law. Whenever a gambler or prostitute gets "into trouble, they spend some of this money to get them "out and fight the law. Yesterday I had fifteen wit-

"nesses to swear against these fellows, but when Wong "Woon saw that he asked for a continuance, and this "morning I have only got two. My company tells me to "break up these houses, and the six companies have put "up a notice saying that if any more notices of reward "are put up, they will fight."

While it would be possible to look upon the evidence as that of an imperfectly educated man, not used to weigh the importance of words, or to confine himself to accurate statements, its general tenor is so far supported by the other evidence which I have cited that it cannot be set aside as worthless. There is, moreover, more of the same kind of evidence to be found in the report of the Senate committee. For instance, that of Ah Chung;—[1]

"Q. How long have you been in California? A. Five "or six years.

"Q. How old are you? A. Eighteen.

"Q. What have you been doing in California? "A. Cooking.

"Q. For white people? A. Yes.

"Q. Do you know how many Chinese prostitutes "there are in San Francisco? A. I think about one "thousand.

"Q. Who own them? A. Wong Woon, An Geo, "Bi Chee, and Wong Fook Soi.

"Q. Where do they get them? A. They buy in "in China and bring here.

"Q. What do they give for them in China? A. About "one hundred and fifty dollars.

"Q. What are they worth here? A. Some nine "hundred and some eight hundred dollars.

"Q. Do they steal some of them in China? A. They "buy them.

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 109.

“Q. Do they buy and sell girls in China? A. Yes, sir.

“Q. Do you know how many gambling-houses there are in San Francisco? A. I think about two hundred.

“Q. What do the Chinamen do with anybody who testifies in court against the women? A. An Geo, Wong Woon, and Ah Fook put up money to kill him.

“Q. Do you know whether any paper is ever put up offering money to kill Chinamen? A. Yes; I saw them.

“Q. Have they threatened to kill you if you testify? A. Yes; I am a little scared.

“Q. What are you afraid of? A. Afraid shoot me.

“Q. Do you know of anybody being killed? A. Yes.

“Q. What for? A. One boy he testified against women, and they killed him with a knife.”

And again, that of Ah Gow;—[1]

“Q. Can you speak English? A. Yes, sir.

“Q. How long have you been in San Francisco? A. One year.

“Q. How long in California? A. Three years.

“Q. Where have you lived? A. At Half-moon Bay.

“Q. What did you work at? A. Making cigars.

“Q. For white people? A. No; for a Chinaman—Ah Wah.

“Q. To what company do you belong? A. Ning Yeung.

“Q. Do you know anthing about threats made against Chinamen for testifying in the American courts? A. An Geo, Bi Chee, and Wong Woon say they shoot me.

“Q. What for? A. They say I pick out prostitutes in court.

“Q. Are you a witness now? A. Yes, sir.

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[1] Rep. Sen. Com., p. 110.

"Q. Do they threaten to shoot you if you tell the "truth? A. Yes, sir,

"Q. Do you know anything about notices being "posted up offering rewards for killing men? A. Yes. "I have seen them.

"Q. What were you put in jail for, lately? A. George "Duffield said I bothered the women and the gamblers "by coming into court against them.

"Q. Do you know how much money the Chinese pay "these officers? A. The gamblers, five dollars a week; "each woman, four bits; lotteries, eight dollars a month.

"Q. What do the people who own women do, when "they become sick and helpless? A. I suppose they "take care of them.

"Q. When they are sick and going to die, do they "put them on the street? A. Sometimes.

"Q. Do these people who own women whip them? "A. The boss women whip them all the time.

"Q. Do you live in the Chinese quarter? A. Yes, "sir.

"Q. Are you afraid? A. Sometimes. I do not go "out at night, but stay in the house and lock my door."

It is unnecessary to carry this part of my inquiry further, although there is a great deal more evidence available, of the same kind as that which has been cited, more particularly in the report of the Senate committee.

To sum up the whole case so far as prostitution is concerned, it may be said that out of 75,000 Chinese in California, nearly all of whom are adult males, there are in San Francisco, perhaps, 1,000 prostitutes, very many of whom are held in a condition of slavery. Their obedience is secured by the co-operation of gangs of desperadoes, many of whom doubtless are fugitives from justice in China. They are intimidated, in some cases by personal violence, and in still others by the preliminary processes, of our courts. This condition of things is possible because the State of California and the city of San Francisco have not provided officers of special education, or persons who have a competent knowledge of the Chinese language, and who are permanently employed to assist in the control of the Chinese element, and because the police force in San Francisco is deficient in numbers, otherwise defective, and in some instances leagued with the violators of law. A great deal more may be done on the spot therefore, to suppress prostitution. The State and the city are largely responsible for its existence in its present forms. Beyond all this more may be done by negotiations with China, and by adequate legislation, to prevent the influx of women of the class in question.

In regard to gambling, it may be said that the evil is far less serious, and that it may be suppressed practically on the spot, if an honest and intelligent effort be made to do so. There are after all, but a handful of Chinese in San Francisco, less in point of fact than one-fifth the number who congregate in the English and American settlements at Shanghae. The vice is one to which the Chinese are prone, but it has been kept under subjection there so that it is not felt to be a public evil. It is necessary to control it for the reasons assigned in the evidence of Wong Ben. The Chinese youth more particularly, resort to gambling places because they are away from home, and because they have but few means of amusing themselves. If unchecked they expend there their money, get in debt and are led to petty thieving to make good their obligations or to satisfy their wants. One vice leads to another, and the men who gamble half the night, naturally resort to houses of prostitution for the remainder. And so the hags who deal in women and the deperadoes who abet them, and who abet and aid gamblers, grow numerous and strong, and dangers of other kinds follow.

I am well aware that there are some circumstances of an extraordinary nature which make it difficult to secure good government in San Francisco and in the State of California. Communism, in an incipient form, has been rampant there of late years. There is a reckless spirit permeating all departments of society, engendered by the excitements of mining-stocks gambling. There is a large foreign element in the State, which takes part in political affairs, although but little fitted for them by education at home or experience on the spot. It is a new and forming society, and its requirements are constantly changing. But all this makes it the more desirable for the people of California to look their difficulties squarely in the face, to inquire where the centers of wrong-doing and failure really are, and to apply the remedy. If they cannot do that they will themselves reap the reward of their negligence.[1]

In regard to fugitive criminals from China, I need only say that the ordinary consular examinations at Hong Kong cannot possibly be sufficiently searching to prevent their coming. I doubt whether examinations made at Canton would be thoroughly effective, but they might accomplish more or less. As a detail it may be suggested that the certificates granted at Canton should be given to the individuals, to be viséd at Hong Kong and taken up by the customs authorities at San Francisco. At present but one certificate is given to the male passengers leaving Hong Kong by any one vessel, and all that the customs officers can do is to count the number arriving in order to see whether the five hundred or a thousand covered by the certificate is exceeded by the actual arrivals. Ah Ben, Ah Hoy, Kin Sam and a host of other clean looking, respectable Chinamen may be passed by the consul and their places supplied at the moment of sailing by other persons who may answer to the same names, but who may be quite a different lot. To prevent this sort of work the consulates must be enabled to do their work thoroughly, and to follow it up in such manner as to secure satisfactory results. All this could be accomplished, but a person who is familiar with the difficulties attending the carrying out of reforms in our consular service, owing to the lack of interest shown in the subject by Congress, and the great preoccupation of that body, may be permitted to doubt whether much will be accomplished in that direction until the Pacific coast delegation takes up the business in an earnest and energetic manner. There are now among the representatives of that district, as there always have been, men of great activity and influence who will act wisely if they study the case thoroughly. I shall be much pleased if anything which I have said shall contribute to give a right direction to their efforts. I have received much kindness at their hands, and while I do not share in the dread of the Chinese which characterizes them, I do share largely in their attachment to the region from which they come and in their desire to see it develope and increase happily and broadly.

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[1] Since the date of the evidence upon which these remarks were founded, a reformation of the police force of San Francisco has been effected. The bill was introduced into the legislature by Mr. McCoppin, upon whose mind, as we may judge, the evidence to which I have referred, had made much the same impression as it did upon my own. As finally adopted, provision was made for the control of the force by three citizens, appointed by the judges of the local courts. In this way the force has been removed, more or less perfectly from political influences. The number of policemen has been largely augmented, and, if I am not misinformed, the class of special officers has been entirely done away with. The statements of citizens with whom I have conversed, and my own observations, indicate that the reform has been beneficial in a high degree. In point of fact one hears at the moment very little of the hoodlum class, and very little of the personal abuse of the Chinese.

It remains to speak of the class of diseased persons who, it is said, come from China, more particularly lepers. I imagine that there is no danger of the spread of that disease among our own people. It exists in China in a mild form, comparatively, and does not appear to be an object of dread. But it should be dealt with first, by the examiners in China, and then by the health officers in California. The experience of the past indicates that very few, indeed, of the class in question reach our shores, and that these few may be returned again to China. But if this shall not be practicable, or if it shall not seem just, certainly the State or nation should be able to provide an asylum for them. The support of one, two or three dozen of such persons would not prove a great burden.

There are those who will not be persuaded by what I said in an earlier chapter, to indicate that there are no contract-laborers among the Chinese in California. To these I have only one word to say in concluding this chapter. The Chinese authorities are not less adverse to this business than our own. They have cut off all emigration to Cuba and to Peru, because it partook of this character. They have insisted that persons seeking to go to those regions shall produce proof that they go voluntarily and that they are prepared to pay their passages out of their own means. They have gone so far, in order that no possible opportunity may be given to agents or employers to set up any declarations which may, in any way, threaten the independence of the emigrants after they have reached their destinations. They have never had any reason to believe that such a thing as contract-labor exists among their people in our country, and it is no betrayal of diplomatic secrets, or transactions, to declare that they are as ready to meet our wishes in this respect as we are to enforce them.

All the evils which I have pointed out may be dealt with, then, within the lines of existing treaties. Freemen, and honest, good men, be they Chinese or other, have the right, by all the laws of God and man, to come among us, and once among us they have a right to the equal protection of our laws. But criminals, contract-laborers, if you please, lewd women, and diseased persons, we have a right to exclude. The Chinese Government will assist us to do so much. What more do we want?

PART IV.—CHAPTER I.

FEARS OF AN OVERFLOWING IMMIGRATION OF THE CHINESE. THE VIEWS OF ANTI-CHINESE PARTISANS.

There is no danger of a large influx of the Chinese. Examination of the declarations which have been made on this subject. The report of the Congressional commission. Its declarations not sustained by the evidence. The report of the committee on education and labor. Its exaggerated tone. The population of China. Wages in China. Fares to California, &c. The debate in the House of Representatives on the fifteen-passenger bill. Remarks of Mr. Willis, Mr. Page, Mr. Haskell, Mr. Davis, Mr. Corbett and Mr. Money. The debate in the Senate. Remarks of Governor Booth, Mr. Jones, Mr. Matthews, Mr. Blaine. The "hordes of China." Fares to California again. The differences between the Caucasian and the Chinaman. The difference overlooked by anti-Chinese partisans. It will be time enough to legislate to exclude the Chinese when their tendency to come among us is established.

I have endeavored in the several chapters of parts two and three of this book, to show that the Chinese have been of very great advantage to the material interests of California, that they have increased the opportunities of our own people for enterprise, and conduced to their convenience and comfort in a very marked degree. I have endeavored also to show that many of the objections which have been advanced against them have no foundation in fact, and that certain evils which do exist among them may be dealt with more or less perfectly and successfully by intelligent action on the spot and in China.

In the chapters which follow, forming part three of this book, I shall deal with the prospects of Chinese immigration, and shall endeavor to prove that an overwhelming influx of their class is not to be expected, and that it is doubtful even whether they will continue to arrive in such numbers as to occasion uneasiness on the part of those who are disposed to disfavor their immigration most strongly.

It has been usual to make a very simple argument in regard to the prospects of Chinese immigration. People have said ;—"There are four hundred millions of China-"men in their native land. Population there is so ex-"cessive that the masses are brought to the closest econ-"omies, and wages are reduced almost to the starvation "point. But on our side of the Pacific is an immense "extent of almost unoccupied territory, which is favora-"ble to life, to production and to comfort. Means have "been provided by which the voyage hither has been "made easy, safe and inexpensive. The way has been "opened and the flow of migration has begun. We have "a right to expect—we would be unwise if we did not "expect—an immense movement from Asia. There is "danger that we shall be Mongolianized."

The train of argument thus presented is logical, and has convinced many people. I believe, in point of fact, that it is the supposed danger of an immense Chinese movement toward our shores that has occasioned the greater part of the anxiety which has been felt in regard to the future of our relations with that race upon our own soil. The same apprehensions exist in many minds in reference to all immigration. The time has come in our history when Americans may very well raise a question whether it would not be as well for our permanent interests if all immigration should cease, and that the people now upon our soil should be allowed to possess it in perpetuity, developing their industries, their institutions, their social and national life, free from extraneous and disturbing influences. However this may be, it is appropriate that I should point out with precision what has been said in this respect in regard to the Chinese, and examine its bearing.

Take for instance the following extract from the report of the Congressional commission ;—

"To any one reading the testimony which we lay be-"fore the two houses, it will become painfully evident "that the Pacific coast must in time become either Amer-"ican or Mongolian. There is a vast hive from which "immigrants may swarm, and circumstances may send "them in enormous numbers to this country."

The view thus advanced by the majority of the committee is qualified in its form. There is nothing especially painful in the proposition that the Pacific coast must in time become either American or Mongolian. It would be painful to think of that fair region subordinated to the Chinese or to any other outside control. But it is already American and likely to remain so. It may be true that there is "a vast hive" of Chinese on the other side of the Pacific, and that circumstances may send them to our country "in enormous numbers." This language confesses that the danger is in the future. It is guarded and qualified. But the majority of the committee speak more positively a moment later. It is a rule, perhaps, that people who have failed to study a subject in all its parts, should grow more positive as they proceed to state conclusions. In the last paragraph but one of their report they say ;—

"This problem is too important to be treated with in-"difference. Congress should solve it, having due regard "to any rights already accrued under existing treaties "and to humanity. But it must be solved, in the judg-"ment of the committee, unless our Pacific possessions "are to be ultimately given over to a race alien in all its "tendencies, which will make of it, *(sic)* practically prov-"inces of China rather than States of the Union."

Now there is no man in our country who can contemplate this result with equanimity. I, at least, should not be able to dwell contentedly upon the prospect of Americans occupying and controlling a large part of China. I doubt whether it would conduce to the broadest interests of humanity to have such a thing occur. Much less would I accept contentedly the idea of California becoming Mongolianized, to use a word which is constantly in the mouths of the anti-Chinese party.

But does this painful danger exist? If it does, the honorable gentlemen who composed the majority of the Congressional commission should have demonstrated the fact. They had no right to pass it over in the two brief paragraphs—clauses of paragraphs—which I have cited. They had no right to speak once in language qualified so far that it means nothing, and again in language which is positive and certain. They were charged by the nation with a solemn duty. They made a farce of it by reporting back to Congress 1,200 pages of indigested testimony with less than eight pages of comments upon it, and by passing comments, some of which as I have already shown, were carelessly and inconsiderately put forward. There is something due by honorable senators and honorable members to their own dignity and good name, and something due to the dignity and good name of the nation. They receive pay from the nation, and they produce what? A report of eight pages, on twelve hundred pages of wide-reaching, involved testimony. They produce a report which passes by the most serious of all the questions involved in less than a half dozen inconsistent and uncertain sentences, a report which sounds more as if it was intended for a political campaign document than a solemn, judicial exposition of facts and conclusions. It is not the only report of the kind which has emanated from the brains of Congressmen.

The committee on education and labor from whose report I have quoted a statement in regard to the number of Chinese in California, in the chapter treating of that subject, deal more cautiously with the future of Chinese immigration than the joint committee did. After setting forth that in the year 1878 there were 150,000 Chinese in the United States, an estimate which I have shown to be fifty per cent. in excess of the actual number, they proceed as follows ;—

"China contains about one-third of all the human "beings on the globe. Its population is ten times greater "than the United States. The density of the population "may be realized by recalling the fact, that in the State "of Ohio, the number of persons to the square mile is "about 70, while in many provinces in China it exceeds "400, and the average is 300. The wages of the laboring "classes in China range from three to five dollars per "month. Their condition is a hard and undesirable one. "They are exceedingly migratory in their disposition, "and though their ports have been so recently open to "free commerce, they are to be found to-day in every "part of the civilized world. They find in America a "congenial climate, high wages, and a more liberal gov-"ernment. They are separated from us by a compara-"tively narrow ocean, which is pacific in nature as well "as in name. The passage can be made quickly and "cheaply, the usual price being $40 to $50, which, by "competition, has been reduced as low as $12. If any "are too poor to pay this small sum, brokers stand ready "to advance the necessary amount, to be secured by a "mortgage-contract upon their future wages.

"Under these inviting conditions, it is fair to presume "that there will be no decrease in the future, either in the "extent or rapidity of Chinese immigration."

And so the conclusion is reached, that after another 30 years we may have, say 300,000 Chinese upon our soil. Perhaps the committee meant more than this. It is hard to tell exactly what the report does intend to indicate. The chairman might be able to say in what respect the extent of Chinese immigration and its rapidity differ. He might have expressed himself more lucidly and accurately in several ways. It is a consolation, however, to know that, taking his own estimate, we have to add to the 150,000 who have arrived in thirty years, another 150,000, to reach the conclusion that in the year 1910 A. D., we shall have no more than the result, as a statement of our Chinese population at a period when we are expecting that our whole population will number, say 75,000,000. At this rate, that inevitable day when our Pacific coast fair territories are to become provinces of our trans-Pacific ally, may be said to be so distant that none of us need to concern ourselves greatly about it.

Let us dwell a few moments upon the several premises presented by this report. It has the merit of being fuller in this direction than that of the Congressional commission, and we are the better able to estimate its value.

In the first place, were the members of the committee entirely sure that the population of China is one-third that of the whole world, or that it is ten times greater than that of the United States. If they are, then they have reached a conclusion as to a matter about which a vast variety of opinions exist among persons very well acquainted with China, and very much in the habit of studying the various problems presented by that country.

Granting, in the second place, that 300 persons to the square mile is the average of population in China, are they at all sure that so great a number do not exist comfortably, and that the lives of individuals may not be pleasanter there than if they should transfer themselves to a foreign soil.

Granting that wages are from three to five dollars a month in China, may it not be true that the sum which a Chinaman may earn at home will give him as many of the necessities and gratifications of life there as twenty dollars would among us.

By what process of reasoning, again, did the members of the committee reach the conclusion that the Chinese are migratory. Where have they emigrated to? What states have they subjected and made "practically prov-"inces of China?" Have they overrun Japan, or Corea, or Annam, or Burmah, or Siam? Have they destroyed the autonomy of any one of these surrounding inferior nations? Have they invaded India or Persia, or Turkey?

"They are found in every part of the civilized world." How many then in England, in France, in Spain, in Germany, in Russia?

"They find in America, a congenial climate, higher "wages, and a more liberal government." It may be that they have found all these good things, but is there very much to be said about our liberality to them?

"They are separated from us by a comparatively nar-"row ocean, which is pacific in nature, as well as in "name." Where then will be found a broader sea, or where a more tempestous one in the latitude where these people must voyage?

When, and for how long have fares ranged at $12, and where, in the last place is the proof that brokers stand ready to advance money to persons proposing to emigrate?

I shall not stop here to make an extended argument, or to adduce proofs to show how little of all that has been presented in this direction by the committee on education and labor is worthy of serious attention. It may be, perhaps, that it is the practice of Congressional committees to present broad conclusions, and that the details of their reasoning, and the fundamental facts may be found in the debates to which their reports sometimes give rise.

I have before me, as I write, the debates which took place in the two houses of Congress in January and February, 1879, upon the bill to restrict immigration from China to fifteen persons upon any one vessel, the one which having been passed by Congress in defiance of international obligation and the plighted faith of the nation, was vetoed by the President. In this debate, for the first time, the great questions involved were under discussion. The occasion was such as should have brought forth all the strength of the able and experienced managers of the anti-Chinese agitation. Let us see what those managers said in regard to this special, and this very important question, the future of Chinese immigration.

The bill originated in the House of Representatives. It was reported to the House from the committee on education and labor by the chairman, Mr. Willis, on the 29th day of January, 1879, who sent to the clerk's desk to be read a special report, which dealt with three points only: 1st. Can Congress repeal a treaty? 2d. Previous efforts at relief. 3d. Restrictive legislation necessary. The whole of this, as reported in the *Congressional Record*, occupies two columns. It contains not a word to indicate the views of the members of the committee as to the future prospects of Chinese immigration. It was supplemented by some remarks of the chairman of the committee, but these are equally silent upon the point in question.

Mr. Page of California, a staunch advocate of the bill, was practically the first speaker in support of it. I find in his remarks this sentence only which indicates his view of the matter :—

"China can spare ten millions of hardy, industrious "paupers, and under present legislation and adminis-"tration on this subject, it is only a question of time as "to the period that shall mark their coming."

The conceptions of the gentleman from Caifornia as to what constitutes a pauper, appear somewhat unusual. It is difficult to say too, why if China can spare ten millions of paupers she may not be able to spare one hundred millions. It may be that Mr. Page sincerely believes that she can do so, but however this may be, he gives no reason saving the ability of China to "spare" them, why we should expect them to come.

The remarks of Mr. Page and those of Mr. Willis were the only ones made to the House in advocacy of the bill before it passed to vote, but certain members obtained leave to print remarks. Among them was Mr. Haskell, of Kansas. I find in his speech just this much and no more in regard to the prospects of immigration ;—

"It is estimated that the Chinese empire contains at "the lowest estimate, 300,000,000 of people. The cost of "emigration to this country does not exceed $40. The "supply is inexhaustible. The price of labor in China "is ten cents a day, here it is at least $1. The premium "offered to the Chinamen is a standing and sufficient in-"ducement to bring them here."

Remarks by Mr. Davis, of California, were also printed. They contain the same argument in different language ;—

"The question remains, are they likely to come in suf-"ficient numbers to justify the proposed legislation? "On the one side of the Pacific ocean is a vast empire, "densely packed with human beings, numbering hun-"dreds of millions, where the wages of a common laborer "are from fifteen to twenty-five cents a day, and whose "poorer classes are plunged into such depths of poverty "as we can hardly conceive. On the other side is a young "and blooming country waiting to be supplied with pop-

"ulation, a land with genial climate and fertile soil, a "paradise of hope to these wretched men, where a few "years labor will enable them to return home rich for "life. The passage across varies from fifteen to fifty "dollars, and the wealthy men of China are ready and "anxious to ship them over under labor contracts. Will "they come? Nay, they are here already, a hundred and "fifty thousand strong, and in California they are numerous enough to form one-third of the adult male population of the State."

Mr. Corbett, of Wyoming, repeated the argument in the following words ;—

"China, with its swarming hordes is a hive from whence "an inundating flood of cheap laborers could easily be "poured forth into the United States, sufficient to drive "out or destroy the entire labor force of the country "without creating any perceptible effect upon her own "affairs, except a slight relief from the consequences of "her own over-crowded condition."

Mr. Money, of Mississippi, after quoting from a book written by Dr. Medhurst forty years ago, reciting the progress made by the Chinese in some surrounding districts, said ;—

"Our Chinese commerce has established a steam ferry "across the Pacific, and, as it increases, its facilities for "transportation increase. The carrying capacity of a "single steamship is five thousand human souls, and in a "few years, at the present ratio, a half million Chinamen "can be placed in San Francisco in a single year."

And with these and no other arguments on this very important branch of the subject, taking it for granted that the Chinese, who have been trembling for the last fifty years at the encroachments of European power in Asia and upon their own territories, are to overwhelm us, the bill passed the House by a vote of 155 to 72; 61 members not voting.

In the Senate the special question now under consideration was not treated of by Mr. Sargent or Mr. Grover who spoke first in advocacy of the bill. But in Mr. Booth's remarks I find the following language ;—

"The doctrine of the survival of the fittest does not "mean the survival of the best or the strongest, but of "that best fitted to its surroundings. In war the strong "conquer; in the sharp competitions of peace, in the "struggle for daily bread, they whose wants are reduced "to a minimum. A class of laborers whose wants, "natural and artificial, are the least, will, if its volume be "large enough, take the place of every other."

This is an attempt at least to deal with the question philosophically, but it leaves untouched the fundamental question whether the Chinese are likely to come in great numbers, and the reasoning as to the survival of the fittest is specious. Who is the fittest? Is it true that the man "whose wants are reduced to a minimum" will take the place of the intelligent, skillful man who brings to bear upon his surroundings something more than a demand for a few pounds of meat or of rice daily? How is it that to-day England and America, countries where labor is dear, and where men do not live as cheaply as they might do, are placing all Asia under tribute to them for the materials with which the "hordes" of that great continent clothe themselves? With men at least, or rather with men as with other creatures, is it not the individuals who are best fitted to all their surroundings who survive? Is the capacity to live cheaply more than one of the conditions involved? Is not the Malay, who has been defeated in labor by the Chinaman wherever they have met upon a common ground, a cheaper liver than the Chinaman? Is not the Russian peasant a cheaper laborer than the English operative? Is not the Anglo-Saxon the most extravagant of all human beings, and is he not the most successful? In point of fact, as I believe, if you will present to me a people who have reduced the expense of living to a minimum, I shall be able to point out to you facts enough to prove that that people occupy a low scale among the nations, and that in the ways of peace and of war there is not much to be feared from them.

The senator from Nevada, Mr. Jones, made the fullest address of all those made to the Senate in advocacy of the fifteen-passenger bill. He presented matter taken from the testimony given before the Congressional commission, and from a wide reading upon the subject at issue. His quotations and his arguments follow the lines of the anti-Chinese party generally, but his reasoning goes further than that of any other member of that party. Whether it always tells in favor of his propositions I shall leave my readers to judge, after citing some parts of his speech which are pertinent to our present inquiry. The headings are Mr. Jones' own ;—

"ENDURING WEALTH RESULTS ONLY FROM FREEDOM.

"Apparently no scheme for the rapid creation and ac-"cumulation of wealth, promised better than that of rais-"ing tobacco, rice, cotton and sugar in our Southern "States by African slaves, in whom was found the rare "combination of great bodily vigor, with a docility which "made it practicable to obtain their labor at the cost of "the coarsest subsistence. The scheme failed in prac-"tice. In the long run and upon a large scale the cheap "labor of inferior races never cheapens production.

"When wages are high and workmen educated and "intelligent, there is a greater general capacity in the "community to avail itself of the forces of nature and of "labor-saving expedients and appliances."

It seems, then, that the senator from California and the senator from Nevada are not in accord in their reasonings. The one holds that the cheap laborer will drive the dearer one to the wall. The other holds that there are other things to be considered beside the mere question of the capacity to work cheaply and with docility. The latter proceeds to say;—

"Thus, we know that the business of weaving cotton "cloth has been transferred, within a century, from the "labor of the East, which is nominally the cheapest, "reckoned by daily money-wages, to the labor of England "and the United States, which is really cheaper, reckoned "according to its efficiency, as aided by machinery more "cunning than human hands.

"It is thus, too, that the wheat of this country is able "to compete in the British and other markets with the "same grain produced by servile, or any poorly paid labor, "in countries where land is equally fertile and abundant. "American plows, harrows, and reapers, American modes "of transportation and handling, enable their competition "to be sustained, while the American scale of wages is "still kept high."

The reasoning of Mr. Jones is incontrovertible, so far, but when he goes further and says that it applies only to cheap labor and dear labor, as employed in their native regions, he is not, as I conceive, upon solid ground;—

"ALIEN AND CHEAP LABOR DESTROY CIVILIZATION."

"These and other illustrations, which might be in-"definitely multiplied, demonstrate the unsoundness of "the proposition, that the introduction of a cheaper "laborer is no more injurious to the American workman "than the introduction of labor-saving machinery. The "cheaper laborer prevents him from getting employment, "whereas, the improved machinery, by making his labor "more efficient, secures to him better wages and more "abundant employment. Nothing is more certain than "that labor is more in demand, and more highly re-"warded in proportion, as machinery and labor-saving "appliances of all kinds are multiplied. So, also, there "is nothing more certain than that labor is less in de-"mand, and receives, even when it can obtain employ-"ment, a less proportion of the product of industry in "those countries which adopt as their policy, the intro-"duction of the cheap labor of inferior races. The preju-"dices against the introduction of machinery, as being "injurious to laborers, have long since given way before "the practical demonstration of the fact that, just in pro-"portion as labor-saving appliances increase the aggregate "production of a community, the greater is the fund to "be divided between capital and labor, and the laborers "always get a share, even if not so great a share as they "are entitled to, of the increase of that fund."

The argument of Mr. Jones is, in the main, of course, a sound one, but thus far, I believe, it may be seriously questioned. Skilled labor is that which is in demand in advanced countries, and the labor of the people of less advanced countries is never of this sort, and it does not readily become so, in a measure seriously affecting the employment of those native to the more advanced region. There are considerations of native intelligence, of special education, of physical vigor and endurance, which all play a part in determining the result.

"From this statement of the reasons for the well estab-"lished fact that the better paid labor of more advanced "countries is able to sustain and triumph in the compe-"titions of commerce, against the cheaper labor of the less "advanced countries, it is apparent that they only apply "where the cheaper labor is employed in the native "*habitat* of the cheaper laborer and under the circum-"stances which there surround him. When he is trans-

"planted to those countries in which the machinery and "appliances and conditions of superior civilization exist, "these reasons do not apply, or apply with diminished "force and the competition of the cheaper laborer be-"comes ruinous."

Does it become ruinous? Where has it been tried? The proposition is broadly stated. Are there no exceptions to the rule? Can it be stated as a general rule? Does the following further extract from Mr. Jones' argument raise any questions in this connection which deserve consideration?

"No man ever executed such great works in various "parts of the globe, and under such diversified circum-"stances in respect to the labor employed, as the English "railroad contractor, the late Thomas Brassey. It is "related of him by his son that he always declared it to "be the result of his experience that the money cost of "different quantities of work was not substantially dif-"ferent under widely different rates of money wages. "Mr. Brassey said this in respect to railroads and similar "works, when cheap labor was employed in the native "countries of the cheap laborers, and it is only in such "cases that his observation can be sound."

Railroads, canals, public works! These, as it would appear, are just the directions in which cheap labor can be utilized. It would seem, too, that the labor of cheap laborers must be less expensive in their native *habitat* than when they are transferred abroad at considerable expense and thrown out of their habitual modes of life.

In looking over the remarks made by other senators and representatives, I find nothing advanced in regard to the prospects of immigration in addition to what I have already presented, which any anti-Chinese partisan would desire me to cite here. Among the other speakers on that side, however, was Mr. Blaine, and I am sure that it will be interesting for every one to know exactly what he had to say on this point. His words are as follows ;—

"The argument is often put forward that there is no "particular danger of numbers coming here ; that it is "not a practical question ; and as the honorable senator "from Ohio is free to answer, I ask him if the number "should mount up into millions, what would be his view "then ?

Mr. Matthews ;—"The senator seems to expect a re-"ply to his inquiry. I would say that when there was a "reasonable apprehension by the United States of the "immigration mounting up to such numbers, then I "would take that into consideration.

Mr. Blaine ;—"Take that into consideration ! The "senator is definite. If it should come to millions in "the population of the Pacific slope, he would begin to "take it into consideration. That is practical legisla-"tion ! That is legislation for an evil upon us to-day ! "The senator's statesmanship is certainly of a consider-"ate kind."

The senator from Maine having dealt thus unceremoniously, one cannot say considerately, with the response of his colleague from Ohio, went on as follows ;—

"Well, what about the question of numbers ? Did it "ever occur to my honorable friend that the vast myri-"ads of millions almost, as you might call them, the in-"calculable hordes in China, are much nearer to the Pa-"cific coast of the United States in point of money and "passage, in point of expense in reaching it, than the "people of Kansas. A man in Shanghae or Hong Kong "can be delivered at San Francisco more cheaply than a "a man in Omaha. I do not speak of the Atlantic "coast, where the population is still more dense, but you "may take the Mississippi valley, Illinois, Iowa, Ne-

"braska, Kansas, Missouri, all the great commonwealths "of that valley, and they are, in point of expense, further off from the Pacific slope than the vast hordes in "China and Japan.

"I am told by those who are familiar with the commercial affairs of the Pacific side that a person can be "sent from any of the great Chinese ports to San Francisco for something over $30. I suppose in an emigrant train over the Pacific railroad from Omaha, not to "speak of the expense of reaching Omaha, but from that "point alone, it would cost $50 per head, and that would "be cheap railroad fare as things go in this country. So "that in point of practicability, in point of getting there, "the Chinaman to-day has an advantage over an American laborer in any part of the country, except in the "case of those who are already on the Pacific coast."

The senator from Maine having dealt inconsiderately with the senator from Ohio, having quoted his language so as to make it mean something else than its right purport, was scarcely more accurate in his general statements and inferences. We are sufficiently familiar with the expression "the hordes" of China. The senator from Maine bettered it certainly when he described the population as "the vast myriads of millions, *almost*," "the incalculable hordes" of China. All this, however, may be the language of declamation, somewhat out of place, perhaps, in the highest deliberative body in the land, somewhat savoring of stump-speaking; but certainly when the distinguished senator comes down to ordinary matters, the price of steamship and railroad fares, he will be entirely accurate. Let us see.

He says that the fare from any of the great China ports to San Francisco is something over $30. As a matter of fact it is something over $50. Including sundry necessary expenses, emigrants from Canton will pay, in ninety-nine cases out of an hundred, not less than $60. If they go to Hong Kong from any other port, to sail from there, their expenses will be considerably higher.

Now this $60 represents what? If wages in China are $3 a month, savings possibly may be $1 a month. It will take the laborer then sixty months or five years to save enough to pay his passage to San Francisco.

I am not able to say how much it costs an emigrant to go from New York to San Francisco *via* Panama. I doubt, however, whether it is more than $50 or $60.

To say nothing of the difference in the wages of the American laborer, and his greater ability on this account to pay the expense of passage to San Francisco, there is something to be added in regard to the enterprise of the one over the other.

And here I desire to point out a fundamental mistake made by all persons who argue as Mr. Blaine does. He belongs to an enterprising race, and he judges the Asiatic by his own standard. It never occurs to him that all recent history shows the difference between the Asiatic and the Caucasian, but there is a difference notwithstanding. Europe and America are monogamic and monotheistic; Asia is polygamic and polytheistic. To judge the Asiatic by a western standard, is to go wilfully wrong on all occasions. The fundamental differences indicated by their religious tendencies, and by their social organization characterize them throughout.

The reader will have observed that I have not found very much in the declarations of anti-Chinese partisans which has seemed to me worthy of the high argument regarding the future of Chinese immigration. I recognize, nevertheless, the fact that an influx of the Chinese in large numbers appears a natural thing to many persons, to those even who are as anxious as I am to deal justly with the Chinaman. I shall not be able, probably to convince any others that such an influx is not to be expected, but for those who are seriously desirous of reaching sound conclusions, I am sure that I shall be able to present facts and considerations which will entirely justify the position of Mr. Matthews, that it will be time enough to talk of restrictive measures, of departing from our traditional policy, when reasonable grounds for apprehending an overwhelming immigration are established.

PART IV.—CHAPTER II.

FEARS OF AN OVERFLOWING IMMIGRATION OF THE CHINESE. THE DEMAND FOR THEIR LABOR FAILING.

The failure of public men to examine into the prospects of immigration censured. The demand of the past exceptional. The demand failing. The facts in regard to the demand for railroad building. Testimony of Mr. Crocker, Mr. Strobridge, Mr. Colton, and Mr. Evans. Disabilities of the Chinese. They are not acquainted with our language and methods. Their inferior physical force. Testimony of Governor Low, Dr. Meares, and Mr. Bigelow. Swamp land reclamations. White men will not work in this direction. The advantages of reclamations to farmers and the State. Mining. The numbers involved inconsiderable. Wheat culture. The important work is done by white men. The aptitude of the Chinese for higher grades of labor examined. They are hewers of wood, and drawers of water. Testimony of Mr. Easterby, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Smith, Mr. Olmsted, and Mr. Mellon. The demand for the Chinese illustrated by the census enumeration of laborers in the different States. Disproportion of agricultural laborers to the whole population of California. The average size of farms in different States. California farms large, and laboring class small. Farm productions in different States. Why so few Chinese have come to California.

I have stated in the last chapter that I do not expect a large immigration of Chinese, and I have shown somewhat briefly, perhaps, but still with sufficient fullness, that those who do have reasoned in a vague and imperfect manner. It has not been my purpose to attempt to demonstrate that their arguments are false, as I have passed them in review. The questions involved are too extensive to be dealt with in that way. I have touched upon them here and there, however, in order to indicate that they might be justly called in question. I hope that in doing this I have said nothing which may be considered captious or hypercritical. I confess, however, that I am profoundly impressed by the importance of the questions under consideration, and that I cannot repress a degree of impatience when I find leading men of the country careless of the plighted faith of the nation, regardless of the traditional policy of the government, forgetful of broad interests, hasty and inconsiderate in legislation. I am not speaking unadvisedly when I say these things. In the not distant future, in our own land, and much sooner, perhaps, in other lands, these failures of our public men, and of Congress, will be recognized, and condemnation will be visited upon them accordingly. Foremost among the men of the nation to whom public attention has been called in this connection, is the junior Senator from Maine. I think that I know him well enough to believe that when sober second thought comes in, he will regret his course; but whether he does so or not, he has, by his own act, broken down his great opportunities. His services to the downtrodden Negro have been great, but he has discredited his own sincerity by taking up an illiberal line toward the Chinese. It is a failure which the great and generous American people will never forget nor forgive. One could have wished that the voices of some departed statesmen could have been heard in the halls of Congress, that the phalanx of those who, in the debate on the fifteen passenger bill, stood firm for good faith and even-handed justice, might have been led by the great senator from Massachusetts, Mr. Sumner, or by the chairman of the Congressional commission, Mr. Morton, who lived long enough to write out his views on the questions involved, but not long enough to present them to Congress in person. But the generous sentiments of the American people, their love of fair dealing and of right, are not to be overborne by specious and empty arguments. It is not to be expected that their first impressions upon any involved problem will always be right, yet they swing around to the right and truth as certainly as the point of the needle to the pole. If our statesmen could but recognize this fact, and cease attempting to guide their policy by the shifting and uncertain phases of public opinion, it would be happier for them and for the country.

In dealing with the prospects of immigration, I shall take up, first, the question of the demand for Chinese labor.

My study of the subject has led me to this conclusion, that the Chinese who have already reached our shores have come because of a demand exceptional in its nature, and which is passing away, and that their labor is not of a kind which will enable them, speaking generally, to compete permanently in the labor market of the country.

I shall not enlarge upon this conclusion, at the moment, as illustrative of, or illustrated by any rules or principles which have been laid down, or may be laid down, as governing in such cases. I shall present the facts which have led me to it, and leave my readers, without much comment, to decide whether I have taken it up inconsiderately.

In presenting to them the material advantages which the Chinese have conferred upon the State of California, I spoke, in a series of chapters, of what they have done in railroad building, in swamp land reclamations, in mining, in agriculture, in fruit raising, in special industries and in domestic service. I shall take up now these several industries and inquire with more exactness why it has been that they have been useful in them, and why it may be said that the demand for their labor in these several departments, or at least in most of them, will not be continuous.

As to railroad building. This industry, if it may be called such, has, as I believe, passed out of its first stage into a second, where its progress will be much slower than in the past. The transcontinental road was constructed twelve years ago. It was a great work which was pressed forward to its completion with extraordinary haste. The subsidy granted by Congress had proven so large in proportion to the cost of the line that the two companies which had entered upon the undertaking were urging their works forward, the one from the Eastern side, the other from the Pacific end, with all possible speed. Their profits were to be measured by the number of miles which they might be able to lay down, and the unprecedented spectacle was seen of parallel lines of grading overlapping one another and passing the first point of contact. The Eastern company, known as the Union Pacific, had the advantage in being able to draw upon the great resources of the labor market in the whole country east of the Rocky mountains. The Western company, known as the Central Pacific, had to depend upon the limited supply of the California market, and to pay the high rates of wages prevailing there, which were certainly, for white men, twice what their rival had to pay. It was inevitable under these circumstances that they should seek to avail themselves of the services of the Chinese, and it is not wonderful that they found them useful as compared with the native laborers whom they were able to employ. I have presented abundant evidence in earlier chapters that the native laborer in California, the laborer of American or European origin, has not cared to enter upon this kind of work. He has made his way to California to do something better than to use the pick and the shovel in railway cuttings and embankments. He could do better, if intelligent and prudent, and the consequence was that only those of a more shiftless sort accepted employment upon the road, and that these were characteristically uncertain and unreliable in what they did.

It is in proof, however, that the more difficult work was almost invariably performed by our own people. If there were teams to drive, spikes to be driven, walls to be laid, bridges to be built, it was always the white man who did the work. In simple muscular work the Chinese, under the given circumstances, proved the more desirable laborers. In all else the white man, at extraordinarily high rates of wages and under distracting circumstances, maintained his ascendancy.

I am aware that this statement may not seem to be sustained by the evidence taken before the Congressional committee, but a careful examination will show its correctness. There is proof that in cuttings, both earth and rock, the Chinamen held their own against the whites. That they will not do so under ordinary circumstances I shall demonstrate at a later moment. But as to the part which they played in other directions the following bits of testimony are in point.

Mr. Crocker, for instance, said ;—[1]

"After we got Chinamen on to the work we took the "more intelligent of the white laborers and made fore-"men of them. * * They got a start by controlling "Chinese labor on our road, and they are good trusty "men."

And again ;—[2]

"I believe that the white man is a better man than a "Chinaman. I believe that when the brain of the white "man rubs against the brain of the colored man, the white "man will come out ahead all the time. When the white "man comes in contact with Chinese labor he is impelled "to greater exertion, and he comes out a better man."

[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 668.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 684.

Mr. Strobridge said;—[1]

"We made foremen of the most intelligent of the white "men, teamsters and hostlers. The white men who "worked in the pits were generally unsteady. The "higher class, the mechanics, were steady men almost "universally. * * The difficulty with white men is "when they are off work. After they have been paid "they will get drunk. * * There was always complaint when they did not want to work. When they "wanted to work we had no difficulty with them."

The testimony of Mr. Colton, vice-president of the Southern Pacific railroad, it will be remembered, was to the same effect. This line, at the moment when he testified, was being pressed forward with all possible speed, in order to meet the work of an Eastern company on the same route. There was no subsidy granted by Congress, saving a land grant, which however, was valuable, but it was a matter of much concern to the Southern Pacific company, which is identical as a matter of fact with the Central Pacific, to carry its second line far enough, at any rate, to prevent the through competition of an independent line.

Mr. Colton's statements as already cited, were that seventy per cent. of the construction force were Chinese; that the white men as a rule were paid twice as much as the Chinese; that no white man was ever refused employment; and that the latter were engaged in a higher grade of labor. His words, in regard to the latter point were;—[2]

"I have never seen a Chinaman who could drive a team "much. Teamsters and all that department are given "to white men. When we are building a bridge or trestle work, it is in the hands of white laborers, and all "the labor done about it, such as handling timber and

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 723.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 604.

"everything of that kind, is given to white men. All "our carpenters are white men. Chinese will do some "work, as carrying stones and something of that kind, "but all our masonry is done by white men. Almost all "the bridge building, the timbering for tunnels, the masonry and these various departments are handled by "white men. Where there is a cut through a hill or "tunnel, we have a gang of Chinamen of one hundred, "with probably two or three white men as overseers."

It will be remembered, that Mr. West Evans, a railroad contractor, testified before the commission, and that he described efforts made by him to secure white laborers on a short line which he had been constructing just prior to the date when his evidence was given. His testimony entirely confirms that of Mr. Crocker, Mr. Strobridge, and Mr. Colton, that the Chinese were used only in rough work; that white laborers were not procurable in sufficient numbers, and that they were unreliable. Mr. Evans' language is very much in point as to the unwillingness of white men to do rough work;—[1]

"They had all sorts of excuses, they said it was too "hard work. It is a pretty wild country, and they complained bitterly of camping out. They seemed to have "come here for another purpose. They had farms or "something of that kind in their heads."

The remarks thus made will indicate with sufficient precision, that there had not been in California up to the date of the sitting of the commission, a sufficient supply of white laborers to meet the demands for railroad building, and that those who were there, were not disposed to do hard work. It is not wonderful, under these circumstances, that Chinese were used for such work, and that they proved themselves able to get through with as much of it as the whites did. It happens, however, that the trunk lines of railway in California are now nearly completed. The demand for this exceptional kind of labor will soon no longer exist in any large measure, and when it does not exist, the labor, as a matter of course, will not come.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 723.

The facts stated are significant as showing, furthermore, that the Chinese do not adapt themselves to higher grades of labor even after many years of experience. The work on the Central Pacific was going forward in 1867–8, that on the South Pacific in 1875–6, on Mr. Evans' Mendocino line in 1876. In all this time the Chinese had not become teamsters, or carpenters, or masons. This is not at all to be wondered at. They come from classes who are not used to such work. They do not speak our language. Their native ability may be all that can be desired, but they naturally recoil from industries which are strange and which require technical education.

As to whether the strength of the Chinaman is such that he is really on a par in this respect with the white man, but one answer can be given. The average laborer of our country is probably not less than five feet, seven inches high, and weighs not less than one hundred and forty-five pounds. I am not speaking from data of a scientific kind, but from my own observations, which are, of course very imperfect. The Chinaman of California, will not, as I believe, average more than five feet, three or four inches, and they will not weigh more than from one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty-five pounds. If one considers the difference in physical power thus shown, and beyond this the difference in readiness and accuracy—in the capacity to make every stroke of work tell—resulting from the difference in education and experience, the conclusion will be inevitable, that all other things being equal, the white man in California will prove himself able to outdo his competitor in almost all, if not in absolutely all, the fields of rivalry.

There is abundant evidence in the report of the Congressonal commission that I am not singular in this estimate of the relative value of the Chinaman and the white man as a laborer. Governor Low, for instance, said ;—[1]

"In a great many kinds of labor, Chinese is worth more "than white, but in hard, strong labor, which requires "bone and sinew, white labor is better than Chinese."

Dr. Meares said ;—[2]

"In a physical point of view they are not aqual to the "white man. They are not capable of doing the same "amount of heavy labor. * * I think they are a short-"lived race. That opinion is not derived from statistics, "but is the result of my personal observations. As we "see them here they are not a hardy, hale race. They "are not capable of the same amount of physical labor."

Mr. H. H. Bigelow said ;—[3]

"Q. Then, are they better workers than white people?
"A. No. Three Chinamen are about equal to two white "men."

Railroad building on the Pacific coast is not at an end, of course, but in the future, the lines constructed will be mostly short lateral ones; and for these, and for the completion of other trunk lines, there is now enough labor, Chinese and white, in the country. The Southern Pacific will certainly not call for more Chinese. The Northern Pacific will be pushed forward from the eastern side. The Sacramento and Oregon line will go forward, probably, by easy stages. The Chinaman has not yet passed the Sierra Nevada in such numbers as to compete seriously in the labor market there; and I do not think that the circumstances are such as to arouse any apprehensions, at the moment, that they will do so.

[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 80.
[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 126, 138.
[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 971.

As to swamp land reclamations. This is also a special industry. It has not been carried so far forward as railroad construction ; in point of fact, there remains yet a very large proportion of all the low lying lands of the State, unguarded by dikes. I do not believe that there are any right-minded persons who will object to the labors of the Chinese in this direction. White men in California will not care to work with their feet in mud and slush, and their lungs exposed to malarious inhalations. They will recognize the fact that every acre reclaimed adds to their own opportunities for enterprise. Some of this work, however, perhaps a large part, will be done higher up on the courses of the rivers, where the land is wet only during the rainy season, and is left dry after the subsidence of the floods of that period of the year. Such lands are owned largely by the farmers of the region, who use them for pasturage, and who are gradually pushing forward embankments adequate to their partial protection from the water. The work of reclamation in these higher districts, may be performed in large part by the use of the plow and scraper, and it is probable that but little Chinese labor will be needed. The number of Chinese scattered through the agricultural districts is not great, and if they are brought in to do such work, it will be because the farm-hands ordinarily employed are insufficient to undertake extraordinary labor, and because it will be greatly to the advantage of the farmers and the State to have the work completed. It must be completed promptly, too, when undertaken, for the reason that a half completed dike is washed over by the floods, and its material carried away in greater or less part.

As to mining. It was this industry which first attracted the Chinese to California, and which led to the large immigration of early years. They named the country then "the gold hills," and they have retained the title ever since. Australia is "the new gold hills." Washing for gold was a work for which they were particularly well qualified. They are accustomed in their natural homes to working in the rice fields with their feet in the water and their heads exposed to an almost tropical sun. The universal culture of rice may have qualified them, in the course of generations, to sustain such exposure with less danger than a white man could.

Placer mining by hand is already very much a thing of the past. I find that the census of 1870 contains the following table of the productions of the precious metals in California, cinnabar and silver quartz included;—[1]

	Hands employed.	Products.
Cinnabar	811	817,700
Gold. Hydraulic	1,396	1,622,993
" Placer	3,157	2,646,174
" Quartz	2,193	3,096,666
Gold and silver quartz	15	15.000
Silver quartz	17	83,100
Totals	7,589	8,281,633

I understand from this table that the total number of men concerned in mining in California is only a quarter of the number of the Chinese who were engaged in the mines in 1860, as estimated by the joint committee of the California Legislature, to which I have heretofore referred.

I have no means of determining how many of the total number of hands employed in 1870 were Chinese. Perhaps at a rough estimate we might say that three-quarters of all those engaged in placer mining and one-quarter of those in hydraulic and deep mining were Chinese. This estimate is mere guess work upon my part. Taking it for what it may be worth, we have the following result;—

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[1] Census 1870. Ind. and Wealth, p. 760.

¾ of hands engaged in placer mining	2,367
¼ of all others	1,108
Total	3,475

There are of course many other Chinese connected in one way and another with the Chinese mining class proper, but making every allowance for these, the result is not such as to justify a conclusion that the State of California is likely to be overrun by them.

As to agriculture. There is no direction in which the Chinese have been employed in California in which the results go further to show that, while they have been very useful, and have contributed to the prosperity of the State, their labor is not generally sought for, and that it has come in only to supply an exceptional and peculiar demand.

The method of cultivating wheat pursued in that State has been described and illustrates the point perfectly. The ground is broken up by gang plows. The wheat is sowed by a machine contrived for the purpose. It is cut by another complicated machine called a header, which takes off the ears and deposits them in wagons which form, in fact, a component part of the machine. The grain is threshed by machinery. All this work requires skilled hands, men who are used to handling horses, and who have mechanical aptitude enough to know when the machinery is in working order and performing its functions properly. Such work, as we might expect, and as the evidence shows, is in the hands of white men, the Chinese not having developed aptitude for it. But the latter have been found exceedingly useful in supplementing white labor at the harvest season, when it is desirable to push along as rapidly as possible and the hands regularly employed are not sufficiently numerous.

There are causes in operation which will gradually, as I believe, affect the demand for the Chinese in the direction shown. But as some may say that they will develope all possible aptitudes, and will invade the departments of labor which the white man now fills, I shall devote some remarks to this question of aptitude. It is of fundamental importance and the examination of the evidence will show that the experience of farmers is not different from that of railroad builders, that they are hewers of wood and drawers of water rather than men available for the ever varying demands of the employers of labor.

Mr. Easterby, for instance, testified ;—[1]

"All the farmers that I have ever spoken with are in "favor of having Chinese for servants, decidedly. In "some cases they use them as laborers on the farm, for "doing light work, and where horses are not used. The "Chinese do not seem to understand the use of horses "as whites do."

Mr. Roberts testified ;—[2]

"Q. Do you employ Chinese in preference to white "men ? A. I do not give them the preference. I generally give white men the preference. * * After the "land is reclaimed, then, of course, we employ white men "generally. We employ white men where there is any "machinery required, any work requiring a higher class "of intelligence ; for instance, in running plows, threshing machines, headers—in any work requiring a higher "class of intelligence we generally employ white men.

"Q. Would they do more work than a Chinaman at "the same thing ? A. In some particulars they will ; "and they are more trustworthy, handling horses and "machinery. We can explain things to them and they "are better than Chinamen."

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 745.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 438.

Mr. Sneath testified ;—[1]

"I am employing a considerable number of persons "farming, pretty extensively, and employ nearly all "white men, for the reason that Chinese do not under-"stand farming. It is impossible to understand them "properly on account of not being familiar with their "language. They can only be worked in gangs, when "they have their own head men, but still after awhile, as "they take up with our language and pick up mechan-"ical ideas, some of them become very useful."

Mr. W. N. Olmsted, a merchant of San Francisco, who has lived many years in China, and had many opportunities to judge of the qualities of the Chinese there as well as in California, testified ;—[2]

"Q. Do you consider cheap labor and low priced la-"bor synonymous? A. I do not know. Labor may "be cheap, and yet it may not be low-priced; it may be "low-priced and yet it may be very dear.

"Q. Do you think that the Chinaman will ever be "able to command the same wages that an American "will? A. No, sir, I do not think so.

"Q. Do you think that he is the equal of the Amer-"ican? A. I do not think so.

"Q. Do Chinamen acquire our language readily? "A. It takes them some time, still, a great many of "them do pick it up readily.

"Q. Until they acquire a pretty good knowledge of "our language, are they able to compete to any great "degree with Americans, and to what degree? A. That "would be done under the management of foremen.

"Q. It can only be done in gangs with foremen? "A. Just the same as a foreign vessel trading in China, "will employ Chinese crews with an interpreter.

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[1] Rep. Ch, Im., p. 544.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 438.

"Q. They could not engage as individuals to work "separately? A. No, sir."

Mr. John Mellon, a farmer, testified ;—[1]

"Q. You can obtain white boys and girls cheaper "than Chinese? A. Yes, sir. I had a boy from the "city on my place. He was twelve or fourteen years "old, somewhere along there. I paid that boy twelve "dollars a month, during the summer, and I would not "give that boy for any Chinaman I ever saw. I will tell "you why. That boy would go into the stable, put the "harness on my team, hitch them up to the wagon and "take them to the field. I would send a man over and "he would pitch the grain up to him. The boy would "act as a man, he would drive the team home, and get "on the stack, and the man would go with the load and "pitch it off, as he was the strongest. The boy on the "stack would pack away the grain equal to a man.

"Q. In other words, the boy could do many things "the Chinese could not do, and you could utilize him in "other things as well as picking berries and fruit? A. "I have not any berries and fruit, but I have seen any "quantity of the work done. I am speaking of what "has been done on my own place. The boy, of course, "if I told him to go to any part of my ranch and fix "the fence, he could take his hatchet and nails and fix it, "or if I would tell him to go and look after such and "such stock, he would go and look after it.

"Q. Could you do that with a Chinaman? A. No, "sir.

"Q. Even if he understood you thoroughly? A. "You cannot make him understand you thoroughly. If "you send him to drive home some of the stock from "the field he would drive them all home, and you could

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 300.

"take out such as you wanted, but if you sent the boy "he would do just as you would tell him.

"Q. You have employed both classes of labor? A. "Yes, sir; all countries. I can take one white man and "he will bind more grain than any two Chinamen I have "ever seen. I have had Chinamen binding, Germans, "English, Americans, and Irish. It is the same way with "digging and sacking potatoes. * * Of course we "are obliged, sometimes, to employ Chinese, but we do "not consider them any companions. When you have "got a good white man, you can take him into your dining-room or kitchen, and sit down and talk to him. If "you want to go off to the city, or on business, you can "tell him so and so, to see that this and that is done, "and he will attend to your business; but a Chinaman "says; 'I no sabe.' * * I one year paid $40 a month "to a white man, and had him two months, to cut at "about the rate of two acres of grain a day for me. That "man was cheaper to me than four Chinamen. He cut "it with a cradle out of the sides of the hills. You cannot run the reaper every place, and then you have got "to cradle it or mow it."

We have seen that the farmers of California, as well as other employers of labor, have found white laborers uncertain and unreliable, as compared with those of other districts. But even under such circumstances we have found that they employ the whites for all the more difficult parts of their work, that in point of fact, the Chinese are generally employed only during exceptional rushes of work. This fact implies very strongly the correctness of my proposition that the Chinese do not show adaptability to the miscellaneous demands of the farmer. This proposition is fully sustained by the direct evidence which I have quoted, but its perfect bearing will be appreciated more perfectly when I point out with precision the difficulties which Californian farmers have had to meet resulting from the short supply of laborers.

The shortness of the supply may be indicated in three ways; first, by the statements of farmers; second, by the census enumeration of population and production; third, by the rates of wages paid.

In the chapter which I have devoted to the Chinese in agriculture, and elsewhere, I have presented with sufficient fullness the declarations of the farmers on this head.

The following tables exhibit the conditions shown by the census. First, the proportionate number of persons engaged in agriculture;—

States.	All occupations.	Agriculture, total.	Agricutural laborers.
Alabama	365,258	291,628	208,811
California	238,648	47,863	16,231
Connecticut	193,421	43,653	18,934
Georgia	444,678	336,145	264,605
Illinois	742,015	376,441	133,649
Iowa	344,276	210,263	69,821
Louisiana	253,452	141,467	97,783
Maryland	258,543	80,449	48,079
Minnesota	132,657	75,157	20,277
New York	1,491,018	374,323	134,562
Oregon	30,651	13,248	3,126
Pennsylvania,	1,020,544	200,051	68,897
Texas	237,126	166,753	81,123

California then has about one person in five of her industrial population engaged in agriculture, and one in fifteen as agricultural laborers.

In Alabama, about four-fifths are on farms and something less than three-fifths are laborers.

In Connecticut, about one-fifth are on farms, and about one-tenth laborers.

In Georgia, three-fourths are on farms, and more than one-half are laborers.

In Illinois about one-half are on farms and about one-fifth are laborers.

In Iowa something less than two-thirds are on farms and about one-fifth are laborers.

In Louisiana something less than three-fifths are on farms and about two-fifths are laborers.

In Maryland something less than one-third are on farms and one-fifth laborers.

In Minnesota more than half are on farms and less than one-sixth are laborers.

In Oregon something less than one-half are on farms and one in ten are laborers.

In Pennsylvania one-fifth are on farms and one-fifteenth are laborers.

In Texas two-thirds are on farms and one-third laborers.

In New York about one in four are on farms and one in eleven are laborers.

California has fewer farmers and farm laborers, then, in proportion to her industrial population, than any other State, Pennsylvania excepted. The Southern purely agricultural States have the largest proportion of farmers and farm laborers, the laborers ranging from two-fifths to three-fifths of the whole. The Western agricultural states have the next largest proportion, the laborers averaging about one-fifth of all, the Eastern manufacturing and mining States giving a proportion of one in fifteen in Pennsylvania, one in eleven in New York, and one in ten in Connecticut.

The proportion between farmers, (including in this designation all concerned in agriculture, laborers as well as proprietors,) and farm laborers is as follows ;—

In Alabama two-thirds are laborers, in California one-third, in Georgia more than two-thirds, in Illinois more than one-third, in Iowa about one-third, in Louisiana about two in five, in Maryland more than one-half, in Minnesota something less than one in three, in New York about one in three, in Oregon one in four, in Pennsylvania one in three, in Texas one in two.

The average size of farms in the same States in 1870, was ;—

Alabama	222
California	482
Connecticut	93
Georgia	338
Illinois	128
Iowa	134
Louisiana	247
Maryland	167
Minnesota	139
New York	103
Oregon	315
Pennsylvania	103
Texas	301

While thus California has fewer farmers and farm laborers than any other State, Pennsylvania excepted, her farms are larger than those of any other State; from fifty to one hundred per cent. larger than those of the Southern States, nearly four times as large as those of the Western States, and nearly five times as large as those of the Eastern States.

Taking the same States the outturn of all farm productions, as compared with the number of persons engaged in agriculture, was as follows ;—

States.	Persons engaged.	Produce.
Alabama	291,628	$ 67,522,335
California	47,863	49,856,024
Connecticut	43,653	26,482,150
Georgia	336,145	80,390,228
Illinois	376,441	210,860,585

States.	Persons engaged.	Produce.
Iowa	210,263	$114,386,441
Louisiana	141,467	52,006,622
Maryland	80,449	35,343,927
Minnesota	75,157	33,446,400
New York	374,323	253,526,153
Oregon	13,248	7,122,790
Pennsylvania	200,051	183,946,027
Texas	166,753	49,185,170

The produce for each person engaged in each State, is about as follows ;—

In California	$1,050
" Pennsylvania	920
" New York	680
" Connecticut	600
" Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon	550
" Minnesota and Maryland	445
" Louisiana	360
" Texas	300
" Alabama and Georgia	240

The production *per capita* in California is, therefore, more than twice as great as the average of the States east of the Rocky Mountains.

The census estimate of wages paid in some of these is as follows ;—

State.	Persons engaged.	Wages.
California	47,863	$10,369,247
New York	374,323	34,451,362
Illinois	376,441	22,338,767
Georgia	336,145	19,787,086

The rate for each individual engaged would be then ;—

In California, about	$214
" New York, "	92
" Illinois, "	60
" Georgia, "	59

The average of California is more than three times that of Illinois and Georgia, and more than twice that New York.

The monthly wages paid to agricultural laborers, as stated in Dr. Young's book on Labor in Europe and America, published by the treasury department of the United States, in 1875, were as follows ;—

	Summer.	Winter.
In California,[1] with board,	$40 to 50,	$25 to 30
" New York, " "	$24.92,	$10.50
" Illinois " "	19.45,	14.30
" Georgia, " "	10.00,	10.00

The supply of laborers, then, has been very short in California, and all the consequent inconveniences must have been felt, not only high wages, but an arrogant disposition on the part of laborers, insufficient service, &c.

All this means simply that the farmers of California have had every possible reason to employ the Chinese, and that if they have not done so in large numbers, it is because they have not found them suitable in all respects to their requirements.

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[1] I understand that these are the rates paid to white laborers.

PART IV.—CHAPTER III.

FEARS OF AN OVERFLOWING IMMIGRATION OF THE CHINESE. FURTHER REMARKS IN REGARD TO THE FAILING DEMAND FOR THEIR LABOR.

The demand in fruit raising. As the population increases and the younger generation comes forward, the Chinese in less demand. Fruit raising will become less special. The demand likely to fall off in manufacturing enterprises. Testimony of Governor Low, Mr. Heynemann, Mr. McLennan, and Mr. Gallego. Industries in which the Chinese do not take part. Testimony of Mr. Scott. The manufacture of shoes and cigars. Tendency to employ whites instead of Chinese and the reasons. Testimony of Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Muther. The Chinese as domestic servants. Testimony of Mrs. Swift. The demand for Chinese labor not continuous throughout the year. Testimony of Mr. Bryant. The ebb and flow of migration.

I have spoken in the last chapter of the prospects of a continued demand for the labor of Chinamen in railroad building, swamp land reclamations, mining and agriculture. It remains to speak of the prospects of such demand for Chinese in fruit raising, in manufactures, in special industries and in domestic service, and to show how the general demand for them is being affected and will be affected by the growth of population in California.

Fruit raising would appear at first sight to be an industry in which the services of a small and light-fingered people like the Chinese would be in special demand, and this is the case certainly at the season of gathering fruit.

But while this is true of the fruit gathering season, there is no reason why the Chinese, under normal conditions of labor in California, should be employed in orchards and vineyards excepting at that season. In the preparation of the ground for planting, in planting and in the cultivation of the soil, the experience of farmers generally shows that the white man would be preferable because of his greater skill in handling horses, and his superior adaptability as a laborer. The same may be said of the grafting of improved scions on native stocks. and of pruning. It is safe to say that for this kind of work white men are even now generally employed, and that, if Chinese are employed, they must be carefully looked after by the proprietor or his overseers, at the cost of more or less time and money.

As years pass, again, there will be a supply of boys and girls to do more or less of the gathering of fruit, supplementing the labors of men, and enabling the grower to dispense with the necessity of going away from his own place, or out of his neighborhood, to engage extra assistance. Heretofore the number of boys and girls, of women and persons generally, not Chinese, who could be called upon to aid at the fruit picking season has been extremely limited. This condition of things is changing rapidly, and the result will affect materially the interest in question.

It may be, again, that fruit growing will become hereafter, in California, a less special industry than it appears to be at the moment. As farms are broken up, and varied husbandry takes the place of wheat growing, each farmer is likely to devote some portion of his land to fruit. This happens elsewhere in our country, and in other countries, and the consequence is, that the labor which in general farming is needed in one direction at one moment, and somewhere else at another, becomes available for the busy season of fruit growing, and the occasion to seek for outside labor falls away. This may hold in the production of wine, as, if I am not misinformed, the grower of the grape is not always, or even generally, the wine maker. The growers confine their interest often, as I believe, to the production of the fruit, and sell it, when gathered, to the larger proprietors, or to persons whose sole avocation is the treatment of the fruit in wine making. The same subdivision occurs in the labor of drying or preserving other fruits. The work is not devolved upon the grower, but upon a specialist, whose establishment is located in or near a town, where he is able to procure assistance in the busy season, and whose control of approved appliances is such as to enable him to work advantageously.

In manufacturing industries of the larger sort, the tendency of whites to displace the Chinese, by whose assistance the given industries were established, is very marked. I cannot do better than let the managers of these enterprises speak for themselves upon this point, prefacing their statements by a significant declaration made to the commission by Governor Low, as follows ;—[1]

"My view in regard to Chinese labor in the manufac- "tories here, is a good deal as it is in regard to manu- "factories generally in the United States—that a tariff is "essentially necessary in a new country to build up manu- "factories, to give them protection while they are young. "After a manufacture gets firmly established, after they "get skilled labor, and get apprentices who have learned "the trade, perhaps the tariff may then be lessened, or "taken off altogether, because it can then successfully "compete with manufactures from abroad. So with "manufactures here. But for the Chinese I doubt whether "we would have had any manufacturing, or it would have "been small, as compared with the present. The very "fact of the Chinese being here, and that their labor was "procurable at a moderate rate, has induced the opening "of manufactures; and, perhaps, now, or shortly, as they

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 90.

"can get apprentices at work, Chinese labor can be dis-"pensed with.

"Q. Do you think that that result would work out of "itself, naturally? A. I think it is gradually coming "about."

This language is fully sustained by that of Mr. Heynemann, president of the Pioneer and Mission woolen factory, and agent of the Pacific jute factory. The former is said to be the largest incorporation for manufacturing purposes in California;—[1]

"Q. Are all the operatives in your factory, (the woolen "mills), Chinese? A. No, sir; I have been listening to "testimony here, of late, to the effect that a good many "white laborers have been displaced by Chinese. Just "the contrary has been taking place in our factory. For "instance, white girls have taken the place of Chinese. "As a matter of course, any superintendent will give the "preference to people whom he can understand, rather "than to people with whom he has difficulty to speak. "That is an immense advantage in favor of the white "labor.

"Q. Why do you employ Chinese in your factory? "A. Originally we could not get any other at all. At "that time it would have been an absolute impossibility "to run the factory upon white labor, simply because we "could not get white operatives.

"Q. Would the factory have been established with "white labor? A. No, sir; as a matter of fact, even "with the Chinese labor, competition has been so active "that we have had no dividends whatever.

"Q. Why do you continue to use Chinese labor? A. "We do not continue upon Chinese labor, or upon any "labor; we continue simply upon human labor, I do not "make any distinction whether it is white or Chinese.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 533.

"Q. You say that you employ a certain number of "Chinese. Have you the option of employing an equal "number of boys and girls at the same rates? A. That is a "very hard question to answer. If you have a certain number of employés who know exactly what to do, you are "not going to discharge them and take another number "without knowing whether they can do the same thing; "but as labor is offering in this same particular factory "every day the number of white girls is increasing, and "the proportionate number of Chinese is decreasing. Of "course that will take some time yet. I might say, in "the course of time, as labor becomes more plentiful "here, I have no doubt the Chinese will be displaced "altogether, except where they amalgamate so that they "would lose the distinctive name of Chinese.

"Q. How do the Chinese compare, as operatives, with "American boys and girls? A. I do not know that "they are any better. I think American boys and girls "would be fully as good. The Chinese have very great "power of imitation, but very little power of invention. "I think an American, or what would be called a white "laborer here, especially those who descend immediately "from native born Americans, have got an ingenuity that "is not to be found in any other class of laborers. They "will try to perfect their work; they will study out something. That quality is not to be found in a Chinaman. "I do not think, for generations, the Chinaman will be "the peer of the American laborer."

The evidence of this witness has no uncertain sound. He is familiar with his business, and he states plainly that the tendency in the woolen factory is to employ white girls instead of Chinese, and he describes that as the result not of mere sentiment in favor of white labor. Chinese and Americans are all on a par in his estimation, so far as the work he has to do is concerned. To speak plainly, the white labor machine is tending, in an unmistakable way, to prove its superior capacity to the Chinese labor machine.

While this point is under consideration and Mr. Heyneymann's evidence is before us, I may as well cite what he says further as to the merits of Chinese and American operatives and artisans at large ;—

"Q. Is it possible for the Chinese until they become "Americanized to compete with the English-speaking "artisan, or the German. A. When that time comes "they will be English-speaking themselves, but I do not "believe that up to this time any Chinaman is the peer "of the American operative.

"Q. I ask about artisans, carpenters, masons, and that "kind of skilled workmen? A. That is the kind I am "speaking of.

"Q. Can a Chinaman until he becomes Americanized "compete with any of them? A. No, sir. It is a perfect impossibility. It is not in the nature of things.

"Q. Are those trades and occupations intruded upon "to any extent by Chinamen? A. If a Chinaman "builds a house, who does he employ? He does not "employ Chinese. That is the best answer to that question."

"Q. Does the Chinaman build houses? A. Certainly. At the corner of Dupont street, near California, there are three such houses which have been "finished within a month."

The tendency of the whites to supplant Chinese, so emphatically declared by Mr. Heynemann in regard to the woolen factory, was not exhibited in the jute factory, but on the contrary the Chinese had displaced there the Scotch girls who had been brought from Scotland with the machinery to operate it. The reason for this was plain. The work in jute is described by Mr, Heynemann as so heavy that "very few women can stand to run those "looms." Having then to take on more robust help the company employed Chinese, just as the woolen factory had started with Chinese. It is safe to say, however, that the same causes which are leading to the employment of native girls in the woolen mills will lead to the employment of native boys, or men, in the jute factory.

Donald McLennan, the superintendent of the Mission woolen mills, confirmed Mr. Heynemann's evidence, as will be seen from the following citation of his testimony;—[1]

"Q. How many white men and women do you em-"ploy in your factory? A. Three or four hundred.

"Q. Do you find them steady and industrious as a "rule? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. You are gradually substituting them for the Chi-"nese? A. I am gradually substituting them.

"Q. Do you find yourself able to compete after car-"rying on that substitution? A. I do.

"Q. You think the time may come when you may be "able to make practically an entire substitution? A. "It may come, but it will be a good many years.

"Q. How rapidly has this substitution been going on? "A. It has been going on for six or seven years, prob-"ably.

"Q. You started with all Chinamen, and during that "time you have employed how many whites? A. At "least half.

"Q. Why not gain the other half in another six years? "A. It is impossible to tell what another decade may do."

It will be seen that Mr. McLennan hesitates to say that the tendency is so marked as Mr. Heynemann appears to believe. It is possible sometimes for a bystander to estimate the forces which are at work with more precision than the observer who is upon the spot. The supply of persons of our own stock who may become operatives is rapidly increasing, Wages are tending downward. The necessities which have drawn white people to the mills in the past, will press more and more closely as the conditions of industry in California approximate more and more closely to conditions elsewhere. If then there has already appeared a marked tendency for our own people to supplant the Chinese, the causes which have produced it are not growing less, but stronger.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 609.

In the chapter which I devoted to the question whether the Chinese in California are displacing white laborers, I gave a list of industries aggregating more than sixty in number, in which no Chinese are used. It will be interesting to inquire here what employers in some of these departments of labor say of their reasons for taking on our own people and not Chinamen.

Mr. Gallego, superintendent of Messrs. E. Detrick and Company's bag factory, testified as follows ;—[1]

"Q. Do you work white or Chinese labor in your "factory? A. We work all white labor, consisting of "men, boys and girls. * * I find we can manufacture "just as cheap with white labor as we can with Chinese "labor, if not cheaper. I have never yet seen the time "when I have not been able to get all the hands I "wanted, and in fact, more. We employ, in the busy "season, for over seven months, two hundred hands ; at "present we employ seventy. We have to turn away in "the busy season, which consists of about seven months "in the year, twenty girls on an average, every day, and "nearly as many boys."

Mr. Scott, of the firm of Prescott, Scott and Company, testified ;—[2]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1063.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 1014.

"We have been employing, for sixteen years, a large "number of men in the manufacture of iron goods. We "carry on all branches. We employ 520 men and boys. "They are divided into six classes; blacksmiths, boiler-"makers, molders, machinists, draughtsmen and pattern-"makers, all organized, working a complete institution. "With the boys from the public schools we have had a "very gratifying experience. We have never less than "sixty learning their trades. We think with those boys "we can meet the question of cheap labor in any shape, "form, or way that they may choose to make it. When "a boy comes there he comes for four years—from sev-"enteen to twenty-one. We pay four dollars a week for "the first year, six dollars for the second, eight for the "third, and ten for the fourth. After that whatever the "man is worth. Our experience is that the boys of "seventeen from our public schools reach the same posi-"tion at the age of twenty-one as the boys we have oc-"casionally taken in, on account of the necessities of "their parents, at twelve, thirteen and fourteen years; "that the schooling prior to seventeen is of more advant-"age to them than the trade. We have never found any "difficulty in adjusting the prices of labor to meet the "conditions under which we have had to manufacture, "and competition from any section of the country, "although we labor under three distinct disadvantages. "We do not produce a pound of pig iron in the State; "we do not mine a pound of coal except for fuel pur-"poses; we do not produce a pound of hard wood in this "State, it is all imported."

These two witnesses, Mr. Gallego and Mr. Scott, were called by the counsel opposed to the Chinese. No evidence which was given before the commission goes further to show how groundless are the fears that the Chinese are likely to win a victory over our people upon our own soil, and doubtless if other witnesses, familiar with the other sixty industries of San Francisco in which our people are engaged, had been called, each would have given similar testimony. Employers are not often controlled by sentiment, and not very many out of all those engaged in these sixty industries would have failed to use Chinamen if it would have advanced their interests to do so.

The special industries of the Chinese in California, those which deserve attention because they are largely occupied by the Chinese, more or less for their own account, are shoe-making, cigar-making, and laundry-work.

It is to be said at once, that if the Chinese have taken a prominent part in these industries, and not in others, it must be because of aptitudes in those directions, and of favoring circumstances.

It will be manifest to my readers from what has been already said, that whatever work is light, and requires the imitative rather than the inventive faculty, is suited to the Chinese. Whatever work again may be done by the piece, by individual workers, requiring no great outlay for the machinery or for materials in advance of manufacture, is more likely to receive their attention. Cigar- and shoe-making and the washing of wearing apparel answer all these conditions more or less perfectly, and it is reasonable to expect that the circumstances which have enabled the Chinese to take a strong place in these industries will continue to operate in their favor, and that if the tendency is to displace them from industries generally, it will be felt later in these than in other directions.

There are reasons, however, which tell against the Chinese, even in these special industries. In washing, for instance, people who are in good circumstances, hesitate to send their clothing to Chinese laundries, and their hesitation is not to be wondered at. They have no assurance that the Chinese laundryman will deal with them either carefully or cleanlily. He may do his work at very low rates, but if he is not careful in handling garments he will destroy the fabric so rapidly that the loss thus occasioned far more than exceeds the economy in price. The careful and fastidious person, and nearly all people in fair circumstances, are careful and fastidious about these matters, will not consent to have their underwear clothing torn to pieces. Still, less will they like to think of it as being worn by the washerman or mixed up with articles from no one knows what quarter. To be entirely plain, this is just what must be expected from Chinese laundrymen the world over. The Chinese of the class in question have known no better system at home than that of alternately dipping the garment in a brook or pond hole, and slapping it on a stone or plank placed conveniently above the water. I have seen delicate foreign garments being treated in this way in China, the washman wearing at the same time other articles belonging evidently to his employer. The laundrymen of California have learned their trade of their own people, some of the Hong Kong washermen having gone to California in early days, and it is doubtful whether there is one of them employed in the public wash shops who does his work carefully and properly.

Beyond this it may be said that the tendency is to use steam appliances in laundries, and to cheapen the work in this way while doing it thoroughly and carefully. Such laundries, wherever established, are likely in the long run to do away with the Chinese system, which is all hand work.

My readers will pardon my entering upon such details. They are unsavory, perhaps, yet they go far to throw light on the place occupied by the Chinese in California and their future there.

The evidence cited by me in the chapter in which I dealt with the allegation that the Chinese have displaced white laborers in California, showed conclusively that the industry of shoe-making in that State was built up by the aid of the Chinese, and that the tendency of late has been to employ white men instead. The testimony of Mr. Buchanan, of the factory of Messrs. Einstein and Company, in this connection, was direct and positive, showing that the establishment named was one of the largest in the city, and that they had already effected the change from Chinese to white journeymen without detriment to their business. It contained also a statement that a white man's co-operative shoe-making establishment had been started in San Francisco and had made large profits.

The evidence in regard to the cigar trade and cigar-making already cited by me, indicates that a considerable proportion of those used in California are made in the Eastern States, and as a consequence that the Chinese in California have not been able to underbid Eastern manufacturers entirely. The evidence shows further that the Chinaman is not as rapid a worker as the white. Frank Muther testified on this head that a white man working by the piece in San Francisco would earn about eleven dollars a week, while a Chinaman would earn only six dollars, "because they are slower workmen."[1] The same witness said that "boys and girls can make cigars, "(for it is easy work,) just as well as the oldest man, in "fact much better." If this is the case, and I find no occasion to doubt the statement, there would seem to be no reason why, as the supply of boys and girls increases, or becomes more manageable, the latter should not displace the Chinese.

It is unnecessary to pursue this branch of our inquiry further. All the testimony has gone to show that the American operative, artisan or laborer is a more vigorous man physically than the Chinese, and that his aptitude is greater than that of the Chinaman. The natural and acquired qualifications of white men are undoubtedly greater than those of their competitors, and when the moment of keen competition arrives this fact will tell upon the result in a marked way.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 313.

Of the Chinese as domestic servants I spoke fully in the chapter which I devoted to that subject. While according to them a high degree of commendation, I did not hesitate to say that I do not believe an Asiatic servant is likely to be as good as one of European or American origin, for the reason that their education is not such as to enable them to appreciate perfectly the wants, wishes, or peculiarities of their employers. I added to this, that I should be sorry to think that the moral education of Europeans and Americans of this class is no better than that of the Chinese. I might have said, further, that there is one overruling objection to the Chinese as domestic servants. Such duty belongs naturally to the female sex, and there is a great deal of it which must devolve upon members of the family where a Chinese, or Chinese only, are employed, which would be left to female servants, if such were employed. There was sound sense in what one of the witnesses, Mrs. Swift, stated to the commission on this head ;—[1]

"The Chinese, when they work, work at one industry. "They are not like our girls. If a Chinaman goes into "a family to cook, he says ;—'Me do no chamber work ; "'me do cooking.' If a woman goes into a house she has "to do sewing, house work, take care of the little boys "and girls, and do the washing and ironing. Chinamen "do one branch. They do the cleaning, or else they do "the housework."

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[1] Rep Ch. Im., p. 249.

I am sure that the women of the Eastern States, much as they have occasion to complain of their servants, and much as they may have wished for the patient, uncomplaining Chinaman, will wonder, if they reflect about it, how their sisters of California have been able to reconcile themselves to men as servants. My impression is that but few families employ them in California, except when they are driven to it, as in the country, or where they need only a single servant to supplement the labors of members of the family, or where they employ several servants, the Chinaman in the latter cases, taking some one department, as cooking or cleaning, while the general miscellaneous work of the household falls upon the female domestics employed.

Beyond the consideratons thus far noted, it remains to be pointed out here, that in many of the leading industries in which the Chinese find employment, the demand for their services is not continuous.

Take, for instance, railroad building. Ten thousand men may be at work for one, or two, or more, years, and the completion of the given line may leave them without employment. Take swamp land reclamations. In one year, or a series of years, this kind of enterprise may be pushed forward with great energy. In other years nothing at all may be done. It is work moreover which can be prosecuted only in the summer season, when a demand for labor exists also in the grain fields. Take farming and fruit picking. The Chinese are in demand for this kind of work only in the harvesting and picking seasons. It follows, necessarily, that there must be many of the Chinese idle for greater or less periods throughout the year. How far this enforced leisure extends may be estimated from the following statement of Mayor Bryant, of San Francisco, before the Congressional commission ;—[1]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 180.

"Q. What is your estimate of the number of Chinese "resident in the city of San Francisco, and does it vary "from month to month during the year? A. I thought "during the fall and winter months, last year, there were "from 60,000 to 70,000, and by going through the quarters "it seemed to me that there are not now more than half "of what there was then.

"Q. So that the number varies from 30,000 to 60,-"000? A. I should say so.

"Q. According to the season; A. Yes; and busi-"ness in the country. If railroads are building some go "to the country, and when railroads are not building "they come back to the city."

This evidence was given on the 24th of October. At that date the rains have already begun as a rule, and the gathering of grain, and of fruit may be presumed to have ended.

Mr. Wheeler, to whose estimate of the Chinese population of California I have had occasion to refer with commendation, gave the following evidence in regard to the ebb and flow of immigration. Its pertinency to the point under consideration will be evident;—[1]

"I observed in getting these facts, that during six or "seven months in the year, that is from February to "October, there has been an increase of the arrivals over "the departures; and from October to February there "has been an increase of departures over arrivals. There "is a flood-tide in and out, to and from California of "Chinese in those two periods of the year, and that has "always been the case. In noticing that fact from the "figures I made inquiry of Mr. Otis, now dead, who was "then mayor of San Francisco, as well as from other "gentlemen in the Chinese trade, as to the cause. They "informed me that the Chinese come to California at the

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 515.

"season of the year when the greatest demand for labor "exists, the harvest season, in the expectation of getting "work gathering in the harvest, that being the period when "there is more demand for labor than at any other period "of the year; and that those who are about to return to "China, always choose the period of the year when they "can reach home and enjoy the Chinese New Year which "comes in February, (sometimes in January,) and that in-"duced by the desire to enjoy the New Year, they leave "in our fall season when the weather is propitious, and "the chief work of the season is over."

PART IV.—CHAPTER IV.

FEARS OF AN OVERFLOWING IMMIGRATION. THE SUPPLY OF OTHER LABOR.

The supply of labor in California tending to increase. The increase of population. Comparison of the increase in different States. The Northwest has outstripped California. The relative numbers of the Chinese in the State at different periods. The proportion of Chinese diminishing. The tendency of Eastern immigration. The tide a rising one. The per centage of births in California. Conditions of life in California attractive. Rates of wages for farm laborers in different parts of the country. The ordinary laboror paid twice as much as the Eastern laborer. Comparison with European rates. Rates in different countries of Europe. Cost of living in Europe, in the Eastern States, and in California. A large immigration from Europe may be expected. Farm laborers in Europe. Employment of Chinese in Australia.

I have now shown, as I believe, that the Chinese in California are not equal to other laborers, artisans, &c., because of their lack of acquaintance with our language, of physical strength, of technical education, and of general adaptability to our wants and methods. I have shown also that the tendency is to rely upon their assistance less than was done formerly. It remains to present facts and considerations attending the increase of our own population which will confirm the conclusion that the demand for the Chinese is of continually failing importance.

The total population of California as given by the United States census, was ;—[1]

In 1850	92,327
" 1860	379,944
" 1870	560,247

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[1] U. S. Census. Pop., p. 3.

Mr. Brooks,[1] one of the counsel who appeared before the Congressional commission estimated the population in 1876, at.................................. 900,000

Accepting the latter estimate as more or less nearly correct, it appears that the population of the State increased about four fold in the first period, about one and one-half times in the second period, and about one and three-fifths in the third period. The first two periods embraced each ten years, the third only six years. The increase from 1876 to 1880 cannot have been large, for the reason that a general depression in business has existed in the State for several years past, which has greatly affected the influx of immigrants from Europe and the movements of our own people. It is not too much to hope, however, that the population of California in 1880 will be found to be about one million.[2]

The movement of population thus shown is very large, but it is far less than that exhibited in the young States of the Northwest.

Take for instance Iowa. In 1850 the population of that State was.......................... 192,214

In 1860................................	674,913
" 1870................................	1,194,020

Take again Minnesota ;—

In 1850................................	6,077
" 1860................................	172,023
" 1870................................	439,706

Take Wisconsin ;—

In 1850................................	305,391
" 1860................................	775,881
" 1870................................	1,054,670

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[1] Br. Br., p. 130.

[2] This estimate proves to be too high, the census of 1880, as I am informed, giving a total population of about 827,000 only.

Or Kansas ;—

In 1850	——
" 1860	107,206
" 1870	364,399

The explanation, of course, is not difficult to find. The States of the Northwest, possessed of a rich soil, and a climate not altogether inhospitable, although cold, have been more easily accessible to European immigrants and to our own people, and this one fact has more than counterbalanced the advantages which California has possessed in a more genial climate, in a greater variety of soil and productions and in her immense stores of the precious metals.

The tendency of the moment, to a superior increase of population in the Northwest cannot long continue. The means of access to California have been improved by the completion of the trans-continental railway, Two, if not more, other trans-continental lines will be in operation within a few years. The lands of the Northwest are gradually being taken up, and emigrants are each year pressing further and still further toward the setting sun. The beginning of the result is shown in the greater increment in California for the six years from 1870 to 1876, than in the previous ten years, or the earlier decade, during which the search for gold called so many people of all lands to that district.

A great deal has been said by anti-Chinese partisans of the more ready access to California enjoyed by the Chinese. This existed prior to the completion of the Pacific railway in a more marked degree than it has since, but the results of the census do not show that they availed of it more than our people availed of their less satisfactory opportunities.

The relative numbers of our own stock and of the

Chinese in the State of California at different periods, is shown in the following table ;—[1]

	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
Whites..........	91,635	323,177	499,424	900,000
Colored..........	962	21,884	11,513	11,513
Chinese..........	......	34,933	49,310	75,000
	92,597	379,994	560,247	986,513

The figures for 1880 are of course estimates. Assuming that they are correct, we find that the proportionate number of Chinese to the total population was ;—

In 1860, about one in eleven.
In 1870, about one in eleven and a half.
In 1880, about one in thirteen.

We find also, that during the period up to 1870, the total immigration and increase of the whites was.... 499,424
And of Chinese 49,310
So that the immigration of whites exceeded that of the Chinese by..................... 450,114

And assuming again, the correctness of my estimates, that up to 1880, the total increase of whites, has been, say............................ 900,000
against a total increase of Chinese of......... 75,000

the excess of the white increment is........... 825,000

The proposition of anti-Chinese partisans, as we have seen, is that the Pacific coast is to become, to use their own expression, "Mongolianized." How very little basis there is for this opinion is shown by these figures. The Chinese are not holding their proportion in the general population. At the present moment, so nearly as we may judge, there is no increment whatever on their part, while the increment of the whites is going forward with steadiness and certainty. Two years ago the friends of fair dealing, and good faith, pleaded vainly in the two Houses of Congress for time to discuss the question whether a revisal of our treaties with China intended to secure the restriction of immigration, is necessary, and they were refused. A law was enacted by Congress, directly in contravention of our treaties with that empire—knowingly and deliberately enacted in the face of all remonstrances—on the plea that the necessity of the case was such, that no delay whatever could be permitted. The law failed, because of the good sense of the President, but the humiliating lesson which it has taught cannot be forgotten. The Congress of the United States was not in this instance, at least, wise in its comprehension of the situation, nor true to the plighted faith of the nation. It cannot afford to make many such mistakes if it deserves to be well thought of among the nations, or to present a fair record in history.

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[1] At the moment of going to press, I have not received the complete results of the last census. I am inclined to believe, however, that my estimate of the number of Chinese in California is as much in excess of the fact, proportionately, as my estimate of the total population has proven to be.

It is very desirable to bear in mind carefully the fact that the recent more rapid growth of California is not abnormal, but the result of causes which are working in an entirely natural way. The fact that population is, year by year, pushing westward, is an unmistakable one. It has not stopped in the districts skirting the head waters of the Mississippi and Missouri, but it has mounted the elevated regions of the Rocky mountains, and poured in upon the great plateau between them and the Sierra Nevada. It is not necessary to recite the facts in this connection, as they are known in a general way throughout the country. Dakota, Wyoming, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and Idaho, are all filling up with population. Even Washington territory, beyond the Sierras, is receiving a considerable population. If Congress shall be as liberal in the future as in the past, another decade will see the galaxy of stars in the national banner increased by a half dozen or more; and there will soon be no district or part of the Union without its own government, independent of the national executive administration. It is the gradual rise, surging forward, and overflow of a tide. It is the same phenomenon which has been witnessed from the earliest period of our colonial history. It is not to be checked by a handful of people of a less vigorous stock coming from beyond the Pacific.

The greater portion of the increment of the population of California is derived from abroad, of course, from the older States and from Europe, but some portion of it is due to natural increase. And here a curious fact is to be noticed, which has occasioned me a degree of surprise, and which tells much in favor of the State.

Every one of my readers will know, of course, that in the earlier and later movements of population to California, the tendency has been for men to go rather than for women. The following table will exhibit the result with precision;—

Year.	Males.	Females.
1850	85,580	7,017
1860	273,337	106,257
1870	349,479	210,768

How great the devergence is from the normal proportionate numbers of the sexes will be more or less perfectly shown by the following table for the State of Delaware;—

Year.	Males.	Females.
1850	45,955	45,557
1860	56,689	55,527
1870	62,629	62,387

The divergence from the standard of the Northwest by the following, for Iowa;—

Year.	Males.	Females.
1850	101,052	91,162
1860	354,493	320,420
1870	625,917	568,103

I suppose there is no one who would not expect, under these circumstances, to find the birth rate of California lower than in these other States. The fact is, however, that the birth rate in California, for 1860 and 1870, was 42 for each 1,000 of the total population, while in Delaware and Iowa, respectively, it was, in 1860, 34 and 28, and in 1870, 37 and 30. The average birth rate throughout the country, in 1870, was about 35 in 1,000.

Not less singular and significant is the fact that in the year 1870 the persons of both sexes in California over five years of age and under eighteen was 336 in each 1,000 of the population, while the average throughout the nation was 311 in each 1,000.

California would appear then to be a region where greater ease in living, joined perhaps with the superior vigor of her population and favorable climatic considerations, have occasioned a very much larger increase by births than elsewhere in the nation. I say a very much larger increase by births, because these should be estimated not in proportion to the whole population but in proportion to the female part of it, which, as we have seen, is much below the usual proportion in our country. The circumstances which have occasioned this condition of things are calculated in a marked degree to promote an influx of population.

The conditions which will attract working people more particularly to California are the high rates of wages prevailing there and the low cost of living, comparatively. The following statements are taken from Mr. Young's work on "Labor in Europe and America." Not to encumber my pages too greatly, I shall make the comparison of farm wages with which I shall deal first, refer only to the year 1874 and to the average of the Western States on the one side and California on the other.

FARM WORK.

Experienced hands.	In California.	In West'n States.
DAILY WAGES.		
Summer, with board	$ 1.50	$ 1.15
" without "	2.50	1.58
Winter, with "	1.00	93
" without "	2.50	1.35
MONTHLY WAGES.		
Summer, with board	25.00	22.12
" without "	....	....
Winter, with "	25.00	17.86
" without "		
Ordinary hands.		
DAILY WAGES.		
Summer, with board	1.00	88
" without "	2.00	..
Winter, with "	75	65
" without "	2.00	96
MONTHLY WAGES.		
Summer, with board	....	17.53
" without "	....	....
Winter, with "	....	13.37
" without "	....	....

COMMON LABORERS AT OTHER THAN FARM WORK.

DAILY WAGES.		
With board	1.50	1.07
Without board	2.50	1.44
MONTHLY WAGES.		
With board	....	20.02
Without board	....	....

The rates stated above are taken from the general tables given by Dr. Young at pages 739–744. At pages 783–784 he gives a special table for California for 1874, prepared by Mr. W. H. Martin, "general agent of "the California Immigrant Union." According to the latter farm laborers in 1874 received in winter, with board, from $25 to $30 a month, and in summer, with board, from $40 to $50 a month, These rates appear to be about the same as those given in the testimony of the witnesses who appeared before the Congressional committee. Mr. Bryant, for instance, testified as follows;—[1]

"Q. How do wages compare with former years? A. "Wages are about the same. Men here, (in San Francisco,) get $2 and $2.50 a day.

"Q. Does not that indicate about the same relation "between supply and demand? A. Our labor is kept "up. Laborers keep up the price at about that; farm "hands at about $30 to $40 a month. That has been "the rule of prices for the last two or three years."

I understand that the quotation for laborers in the city is without board, and for farm laborers with board.

Mr. Brier, it will be remembered, testified that he paid in California, in 1876, $1 a month more than he paid in 1857, and that for permanent hands employed the year around, $25 to $50 were paid in California, while the same class of laborers received in the older States from $12 to $15 a month.[2]

Mr. Mellon, again, it will be remembered, paid $40 a month to a man who used the cradle upon his place.[3]

Mr. Evans stated that in building the Mendocino railroad, he started the men in at $40 a month and board, "and that if a man was found to be worth more he paid "it to him."[4]

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 180.

[2] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 572.

[3] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 300.

[4] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 720.

Mr. Hollister said;—"With the minimum paid for "farming work, say $25 a month and board, I find that "it is impossible, &c."[1]

The rates paid for farm laborers in the Western States, as shown in Dr. Young's book, and cited above, were currency prices. Ten or twelve per cent. must be added to these rates in comparing them with California rates, as an allowance for the difference in the currencies of the two regions.

The relative rates in the Western States and in other districts east of the Rocky mountains is sufficiently exhibited in the following tables;—

Ordinary farm hands, monthly wages, with board, in the summer;—

Averages.	1860.	1870.	1874.
New England States.........	$13.70	$20.68	$18.60
Middle "	9.71	16.75	16.93
Western "	13.12	18.33	17.53
Southern "	9.23	12.43	11.58

In the Winter;—

New England States.........	$9.66	$16.38	$14.42
Middle "	7.38	12.45	12.20
Western "	11.04	14.48	13.37
Southern "	8.19	10.04	12.71

It seems clear from the foregoing data that in the year 1874, the wages paid to white farm laborers east of the Rocky mountains, was not much more than half what their confreres were receiving in California at the same time.

The testimony given before the Congressional commission shows further that the wages paid to the Chinese in California were higher than those paid to our own people in the East. The lowest price paid to them as permanent laborers appears to have been $15 a month and board, but they seem to have received usually $1 a day, they boarding themselves. A fair allowance for board is perhaps $6 or $8 a month, so that for twenty-six working days the Chinaman received in California, the equivalent of $18 to $20 a month and board, or in currency, from $20 to $22 a month.

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[1] Rep. Ch. Im., p. 768.

The wages paid in San Francisco in 1874, in various employments are shown in the following table. It is from the report of Mr. Martin, already referred to.

Statement showing the wages paid in San Francisco and vicinity in the year 1874, for the following kinds of labor.

Occupation.		Wages in 1874.
Bakers	per month, with board	$40 00 to $60 00
Blacksmiths	per day	3 00 to 4 00
Book-binders	do	3 00 to 5 00
Brick-layers	do	4 00 to 5 00
Butchers	per month, with board	40 00 to 75 00
Carpenters, house	per day	3 50 to 4 50
Cabinet-makers	do	3 00 to 4 00
Coopers	do	2 50 to 4 00
Copper-smiths	do	3 50 to 5 00
Engravers	do	4 50 to 6 00
Gas-fitters	do	3 00 to 4 50
Harness-makers	do	2 50 to 5 00
Machinists	do	3 00 to 5 00
Masons	do	4 00 to 5 00
Masons, foremen	do	6 00 to 7 50
Millwrights	do	3 00 to 5 00
Painters, house	do	3 50 to 4 00
Painters, ship	do	3 00 to 4 00
Plasterers	do	4 00 to 5 00
Plumbers	do	4 00 to 5 00
Saddlers	do	3 00 to 5 00
Sail-makers	do	3 00 to 4 00
Shoemakers	do	2 00 to 4 00
Stone-cutters	do	4 00 to 5 00
Tailors, pants	each	3 00 to 5 00
Tailors, vests	do	2 00 to 3 50
Tailors, coats	do	6 00 to 10 00
Tinsmiths	per day	2 50 to 3 50

That these rates are very high will be apparent at a glance. The following table, taken from "Labor in Europe," published by the State Department in 1879, will show how they compare with rates elsewhere;—

Statement showing the weekly rates of wages paid to the following trades in England and the rates paid to similar trades in New York and in Chicago.

Occupations.	England.	New York.	Chicago.
Bricklayers.......	$8 12	$12 00 to $15 00	$ 6 00 to $10 50
Masons..........	8 16	12 00 to 18 00	12 00 to 15 00
Carpent'rs. Joiners	8 25	9 00 to 12 00	7 50 to 12 00
Gasfitters	7 25	10 00 to 14 00	10 00 to 12 00
Painters..........	7 25	10 00 to 16 00	6 00 to 12 00
Plasterers	8 10	10 00 to 15 00	9 00 to 15 00
Plumbers	7 75	12 00 to 18 00	12 00 to 21 00
Slaters...........	7 90	10 00 to 15 00	12 00 to 18 00
Blacksmiths	8 12	10 00 to 14 00	9 00 to 12 00
Bakers...........	6 50	5 00 to 8 00	8 00 to 12 00
Bookbinders......	7 83	12 00 to 18 00	9 00 to 20 00
Shoemakers	7 35	12 00 to 18 00	9 00 to 18 00
Butchers.........	7 23	8 00 to 12 00	12 00 to 18 00
Cabinet-makers ...	7 70	9 00 to 13 00	7 00 to 15 00
Coopers..........	7 30	12 00 to 16 00	6 00 to 15 00
Coppersmiths.....	7 40	12 00 to 15 00	15 00 to 21 00
Cutlers	8 00	10 00 to 13 00	....
Engravers........	9 72	15 00 to 25 00	9 00 to 30 00
Horseshoers	7 20	12 00 to 18 00	15 00 to 21 00
Millwrights.......	7 50	10 00 to 15 00	12 00 to 21 00
Printers..........	7 75	8 00 to 18 00	12 00 to 18 00
Saddlers	6 80	12 00 to 15 00	6 00 to 12 00
Sailmakers	7 30	12 00 to 18 00	12 00 to 15 00
Tinsmiths........	7 30	10 00 to 14 00	9 00 to 12 00
Tailors	$5 00 to 7 30	10 00 to 18 00	6 00 to 18 00
Brassfinishers.....	7 40	10 00 to 14 00	8 00 to 15 00
Labor'rs, port'rs &c	5 00	6 00 to 9 00	5 50 to 9 00

From this table, and the preceding one, it appears, then, that the bricklayer who receives $8.12 in England, $12 to $15 in New York, and $6 to $10.50 in Chicago, for a week's work, receives in San Francisco from $24 to $30 a week; that the blacksmith receives, in England, $8.12; in New York, $10 to $14; in Chicago, $9 to $12; and in San Francisco, $18 to $24. The cabinet-maker, in England, $7.70; in New York, $9 to $13; in Chicago,

$7 to $15; in San Francisco, $18 to $24. The millwright, in England, $7.50; in New York, $10 to 15; in Chicago, $12 to $21; in San Francisco, $18 to $24. The saddler, in England, $6.80; in New York, $12 to $15; in Chicago, $6 to $12; in San Francisco, $18 to $30.

And it appears, further, that very generally wages in trades are at least fifty per cent. higher in New York and Chicago than in England, and from seventy-five to one hundred per cent. higher in San Francisco than in New York and Chicago.

In placing the average rate of wages in England at least fifty per cent. higher than in New York and Chicago, I am certainly within the mark. Trades-unions have become universal in England and they sustain the nominal wages at rates which appear high. These must be largely reduced in making a comparison with rates in our country to allow for half and two-thirds time work in England, which has become very common. The operatives and artisans there prefer to sustain rates and to work less time rather than to work full time at lower rates. Nothing of this kind is seen in the United States. Taking this into consideration it is perhaps safe to say that wages in trades, &c., in England are not more than half as high as they are in our New England, Middle and Western States.

Wages in England again are much higher than on the Continent. The differences are exhibited in the following table, which I have taken from "Labor in Europe," and extended by putting down also the wages paid in San Francisco as reported in Mr. Martin's table.

Statement showing the weekly rates of wages in the principal cities of Europe compared with rates in San Francisco.

Occupation.	Brussels.	Bordeaux.	Dresden.	Rome.	Barcelona.	Geneva.	Liverpool.	San Francisco.
Bricklayers	$6 00	$4 80	.....	$3 00	$5 40	$4 80	$9 25	$24 00 to $30 00
Carpenters and joiners	5 40	5 00	$3 75	3 00	5 00	6 00	9 00	21 00 to 27 00
Gasfitters	5 40	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 60	7 80	18 00 to 27 00
Masons	6 00	5 40	3 75	3 00	6 00	4 80	8 70	24 00 to 30 00
Painters	.....	.....	.....	.....	7 00	4 60	8 50	21 00 to 24 00
Plasterers	5 40	.....	.....	.....	7 00	4 60	9 72	24 00 to 30 00
Plumbers	6 00	6 00	.....	.....	.....	4 60	9 00	24 00 to 30 00
Bakers	6 00	4 80	3 50	.....	5 40	4 80	.....	40 00 to 60 00 a month with board
Blacksmiths	6 00	4 80	4 00	3 30	4 50	4 80	8 90	18 00 to 24 00
Bookbinders	6 00	4 80	2 00	.....	3 60	4 60	8 00	18 00 to 30 00
Butchers	6 00	6 00	4 00	.....	.....	4 60	.....	40 00 to 75 00 a month with board
Cabinet-makers	4 80	.....	.....	.....	4 20	6 00	8 00	18 00 to 24 00
Coopers	6 00	8 00	.....	.....	5 50	4 60	8 75	15 00 to 24 00
Coppersmiths	6 00	.....	4 75	.....	.....	4 60	8 90	21 00 to 30 00
Cutlers	5 50	4 20	4 00	.....	.....	4 60	.....	....
Engravers	6 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 80	.....	27 00 to 36 00
Millwrights	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7 70	18 00 to 30 00
Printers	6 00	3 00	.....	.....	4 80	4 60	10 50	21 00 to 24 00
Saddlers and harness-makers	4 80	4 80	.....	.....	.....	4 60	7 30	15 00 to 30 00
Sailmakers	6 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	18 00 to 24 00
Shoemakers	6 00	4 20	2 00	3 60	3 60	4 60	8 75	12 00 to 24 00
Tailors	6 00	4 80	3 00	3 60	3 60	4 80	.....	9 00 to 60 00
Tinsmiths	4 80	4 80	3 00	.....	4 00	4 80	7 50	15 00 to 21 00
Laborers, porters, etc	3 50	.....	2 50	.....	.....	3 00	5 82	25 00 to 50 00 a month with board

It will be seen from this table that wages in Liverpool are nearly fifty per cent. higher than in the cities named of Belgium, France, Spain and Switzerland, and fully one hundred per cent. higher than in Dresden and Rome, and taking the wages of Dresden in comparison with those of San Francisco, the former are only one-sixth of the latter.

While so great discrepancies exist between the wages paid in Europe and America, it is still true that provisions are generally higher in Europe. The following table taken from "Labor in Europe" shows the retail prices paid in the principal cities of Europe, and in New York and Chicago.

Statement showing the retail price of the necessaries of life in the principal cities of Europe, compared with same in New York and Chicago. (In cents, U. S. Currency.)

Articles.	Brussels.	Bordeaux.	Dresden.	Rome.	Barcelon.	Geneva.	Liverpool.	New York.	Chicago.
Bread........................per pound	4 to 5	3 to 4	7	6	.....	4	3½ to 4	4 to 4½	4 to 4½
Flour..........................do....	....	....	6	10	6¼	7	3½ to 5	3 to 4	2½ to 4½
Beef: Roasting ....per pound	20	20	24	20	20	30	22	12 to 16	8 to 12½
Soup ....do....	16	16	18	12	15	18	16	6 to 8	5 to 8
Rump ....do....	18	18	19	15	18	25	18	14 to 16	8 to 12½
Corned ....do....	16	16	18	12	.....	18	16	8 to 12	4 to 7
Mutton: Fore-quarter......per pound	16	16	12	15	12	....	14	9 to 10	5 to 12½
Hind-quarter ....do....	18	20	18	18	15	18	20	12 to 14	5 to 15½
Chops ....do....	20	20	18	18	18	....	20	14 to 16	10 to 15
Pork: Fresh ....per pound	16	12	18	15	20	18	16	8 tu 10	4 to 8
Salted...................do....	16	14	18	18	20	20	16	8 to 10	6 to 12
Bacon ....do....	18	20	30	25	30	....	20	8 to 10	7 to 12
Ham ....do....	20	25	35	30	40	28	24	8 to 12	7 to 15
Lard.....................do....	20	....	20	25	19	....	16	10 to 12	6 to 10
Butter.........................do....	20 to 50	....	16	30	40	36	24 to 36	25 to 32	16 to 40
Cheese ....do....	20 to 25	....	33	28	25	23	12 to 20	12 to 15	5 to 16
Potatoes...................per bushel	56	60	48	1 20	$1 00	60	$1 20 to $1 50	$1 40 to $1 60	60 to 80
Rice ....per pound	....	....	10	5	6½	....	4 to 10	8 to 10	5 to 10
Beans.......................per quart	....	....	14	15	12	....	....	7 to 10	5 to 9
Milk..........................do....	....	....	.....	4	12	5	6 to 8	8 to 10	3 to 6
Eggs........................per dozen	20 to 25	10 to 15	.....	20	20	20	14 to 18	25 to 30	10 to 24
Tea...........................per pound	....	....	75	.....	60	50	40 to 85	50 to 60	25 to $1 00
Coffee........................do....	30 to 40	....	36	40	40	30	24 to 40	20 to 30	15 to 40
Sugar..........................do....	15 to 20	....	12	8	10	8	5 to 8	8 to 10	7 to 10
Coal..........................per ton	....	....	$3 10	11 00	$9 00	....	$3 65 to $4 38	$3 00 to $8 25	$3 00 to $6 75

Table showing the average retail prices of provisions, and other leading articles of consumption, with prices of house-rent, board, &c. (1874).

Articles.	California.	Averages for Western States
PROVISIONS.		
Flour, wheat, superfine..............per bbl.	$ 5 00	$ 5 90
Flour, wheat, extra family..............do..	5 33	6 91
Corn-meal..............do..	6 00	3 58
Beef, fresh, roasting-pieces..............per lb..	11½	11½
Beef, fresh, soup-pieces..............do..	08	08
Beef, fresh, rump-steaks..............do..	10	11½
Beef, corned..............do..	10	08½
Mutton, fore-quarters..............do..	10	09
Mutton, leg..............do..	11½	11½
Mutton chops..............do..	11½	12
Pork, fresh..............do..	12	11¾
Pork, corned or salted..............do..	16	11½
Pork, bacon..............do..	17	13½
Pork, hams, smoked..............do..	20	15½
Lard..............do..	17	15½
Cod-fish, dry..............do..	09	09½
Mackerel, pickled..............do..	11	10½
Butter..............do..	43	24¾
Cheese..............do..	22	17
Potatoes..............per bus.	1 12	78
Rice..............per lb.	10	11
Beans..............per qt.	03½	09⅓
Milk..............do..	07	06½
Eggs..............per doz.	37	19
GROCERIES, ETC.		
Tea, Oolong or other good black..............per lb.	73	1 15
Coffee, Rio, green..............do..	26	27¼
Sugar, good brown..............do..	10½	10
Molasses, New Orleans..............per gall.	1 00	89
Fuel, coal..............per ton.	16 25	6 30
DOMESTICS, DRY GOODS, ETC.		
Shirtings, brown, 4-4, standard quality, per yard.	12½	12¼
Cotton-flannel, medium quality..............do..	20	18
Tickings, good quality..............do..	26	26½
Prints, Merrimac..............do..	10	10½
Mousseline de laines..............do..	21	19
Satinets, medium qualities..............do..	87	72
Boots, men's heavy..............per pair.	4 75	5 40
HOUSE-RENT.		
Four-roomed tenements..............per mo.	17 00	9 12
Six-roomed tenements..............do..	31 00	18 90
BOARD.		
For men (mechanics, &c.)..............per week.	5 33	4 14
For women in factories..............do..	6 00	3 25

The foregoing table from Dr. Youngs' book, shows the retail prices of various necessary articles, in San Francisco in 1874, and the average prices for the same articles in the Western States in the same year.

An examination of this list of prices will show that provisions are as cheap, practically, in California as in the Western States, but that groceries and dry goods are higher. There is no reason, however, why groceries should remain higher, for San Francisco is near to districts which produce sugar, coffee and tea. The transportation of cotton goods is not a very large item in their cost to the consumer. Woolen goods should be as cheap in California as in Chicago. Coal will probably remain high, and rents will only fall as capital becomes less dear. Rates for board appear to be very high in California. There is no reason, so far as I can judge, why a woman should pay more than a man. When I was a boy at college very many students were boarded for $1.75 a week, and $2.50 was considered full price for a satisfactory table. A fall of one-quarter at least in board and rents will take place probably in the next decade.

It has been urged vehemently that the Chinese will come to our shores in overwhelming numbers, because of the great attractions which they find here in high wages, in opportunities for enterprise and in ease of life. The result has not yet justified the fear. The same attractions allure the people of Europe. They are in point of fact greater for the European, because he is educated to wants which he cannot supply at home, and which form an ever present incentive for him to go abroad, in the hope of bettering his circumstances. While, then, we have not found the fears of a large immigration from China supported by the event, there is every reason to expect a large immigration from Europe. During the thirty years since the Chinese, attracted by the discovery of gold in California, began to move toward our shores, they have rolled up no greater population among us than 100,000 souls. In the same period the immigration from the British Isles alone has aggregated more than 3,000,000 of persons, and that from Germany more than 2,500,000. In 1870, out of our whole population numbering 38,558,371 persons, no less than 5,567,229 were born abroad.

How insignificant beside these aggregates appear the number of Chinese then in our country. Out of 38,558,371 of population, 63,199 Chinese. Out of 5,567,229 foreign born residents, 63,199 from the Middle Kingdom. Verily, "our fears do make us traitors," traitors to our manhood, traitors to our high destinies, traitors to our duties as a nation, traitors to our solemnly plighted faith.

In looking back over the preceding pages I find that I have failed to notice two things which deserve to be stated; first, the wages paid to agricultural laborers in Europe, and second, the fact that the Chinese in Australia have taken no part as agricultural laborers.

Statement showing the weekly rates of wages paid to agricultural laborers in various countries.

Occupations.	France.	Germ'ny	Italy.	United Kingdom.		
				Engl'd	Irel'nd	Scotland.
Men, without board or lodging	$3 15	$2 87	$3 50	$3 60	$3 40	$4 25
Men, with board and lodging	1 36	1 48	1 80	2 60	1 30	$1 50 to 2 40
Women, without board or lodging	1 10	1 08	1 55	1 80	2 16	1 80 to 3 25
Women, with board and lodging	.....	75	60	1 15	75	60 to 1 00

It will be a long time, I hope, before women come to do farm work in our country, in the region at any rate that has always been dedicated to free labor, but it is not out of place to call attention here to the fact that women do work in the fields in Europe and to the wages which are paid to them. In Germany, with board, 75 cents a week or $3.00 a month; in England $1.15 a week or $4.60 a month. Let those women who earn at housework in California from $20 to $35 a month with board, and in the factories from $24 to $40, without board, remember how different is the recompense of their sisters beyond the Atlantic.

Nor will it do any harm to laborers in California, very many of whom are of foreign origin, and who are yet so illiberal as to cry out against the Chinese, to bear in mind that while they are earning from $25 to $40 or more a month with board, their brothers in France and Germany are paid less than $6 a month, and in England less than $7.50.

The reference to Australia I may best make in the language of the observer himself;—[1]

"No Australian capitalist employs Chinese in any "manufacture or in any agricultural industry. Out of "the 50,000 in that region, 40,000 are supposed to be "engaged in gold mining. A considerable number have "established themselves as market gardeners, and others in bizarre branches, as butchers, bakers, hands in "back country stations, cooks on tripang boats, furniture-"makers, and sometimes as contract road laborers; but "their employment by masters other than their own "countrymen, is quite inappreciable, and quite inappreciable their employment even in tropical Queensland "in any domestic capacity."

A more pertinent and forcible commentary upon the views which I have put forward could not be imagined.

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[1] Report on the Chinese in Australia, by J. Dundas Crawford, H. M's. consular service. Sept. 1877., Mss.

PART IV.—CHAPTER V.

FEARS OF AN OVERFLOWING IMMIGRATION OF THE CHINESE. THEY ARE NOT A MIGRATORY PEOPLE.

The question of the disposition of the Chinese to move out from their own territories considered. Their habits in this respect unchanged. No change can occur without a warning. Their occupation of other territories has been the result of slow growth and not of migrations. They are not migratory nor aggressive. The history of their conquests. The surrounding petty states. Nature of the relations between them and China. Corea, Lew Chew, Annam, Siam, Burmah. All of these might have been overrun by the Chinese, but nothing of the kind has occurred. The outlying districts belonging to China have not been settled up. The facts regarding Formosa. Unsubdued aboriginal tribes in the heart of the empire. The Miau-tsz. Manchuria. The south of Manchuria long ago settled by a gradual movement of the Chinese. The central and northern parts scarcely touched by the hands of men. The vast region of Inner Mongolia. It is still unoccupied although suitable for cultivation and adjacent to China proper. The Chinese have made no military conquests in the last hundred years. The indifference of the Chinese in the recent famine.

It will be instructive to consider, in connection with what has preceded, the question of the disposition of the Chinese themselves to go out from their own country.

We have in China, as has been said so often, an immense aggregation of human beings. If they choose to move, the result may well cause uneasiness. It matters not whether the population of the empire reaches to 400,000,000, or does not exceed 200,000,000, the numbers are so great that if they are once set in motion, whether for purposes of war or of peace, the fact cannot fail to make a difference upon the earth.

Will they move? Is there a spirit latent within them which is being aroused and which will induce them to throw off the lethargy of all their history and start forward in a career of development within and conquest without? They have vast numbers. They are one people under one goverment. They are not deficient in physical or intellectual capacity. Is there to be a resurrection of buried activities?

It is idle to speculate upon this subject. To one person one result will seem inevitable, to another quite a different result. I have no desire to indulge in mere speculations. From the beginning to the end of what I have written I have examined evidence and stated conclusions based upon it. All that can be said now is that no such revival or outburst of national spirit has taken place as to cause any sensible difference in the habits of the people of our trans-Pacific ally.

China is not unmindful altogether of what is going on in the world, but down to this moment she stands like an old and infirm person in the midst of a younger generation, appreciative of the fact that their ways are different from her own, appreciative of the vigor which they exhibit, but too far wedded to old habits to make a change; dreading a change as an innovation upon secure and comfortable ways, and dangerous to her peace.

It is this China with which we are dealing. It will be time enough to deal with the new China when it has arisen. All friends of that great people, all friends of the human race, hope for their uprising; but there is no need to anticipate the result when one is considering questions of the moment. It may be through internecine war; it may be a result of combat with neighboring powers; it may be by the downfall of one dynasty and the peaceful but progressive teachings of another; it may be by the overthrow of the nation and the substitution of foreign rule, that the change will come. There is only this one thing certain about it. It will not be a change unseen, nor without premonitory indications. If it threatens us ever, we shall have the opportunity to care for it. It may never threaten us at all, but add just so much to our opportunities. We are not less, but more rich and strong, because Europe is rich and strong. The fructifying streams of commerce, which flow between us and Europe, may hereafter find their analogy in our commerce with Asia. And when that time comes, there may be as little danger of an irruption of Asiatics upon our soil as there is now of their pouring themselves down upon the gates of Berlin or Rome.

And what, then, is the China of to-day. The whole world knows what she is, if they will but stop to think about it. It would seem almost a work of supererogation to say what she is. Yet, when people allow their fears to run away with them, when the danger that China, false to all her traditions, is to make a peaceful invasion of our country, is seriously apprehended, it is time to recall attention to at least some of the characteristics of the country.

In doing this, I shall not travel outside of my proper subject. I shall not give expression to any general observations in regard to the actual number of the population, nor in regard to the character of the government and the qualities of the people. I shall adhere strictly to my inquiry, showing, in the first place, that the Chinese, whatever else they may be, are neither migratory nor aggressive, that they have passed very little beyond their strict boundaries; and, second, that when they have done so, their progress has been a natural extension of their fields of operation, not a migration, excepting when the circumstances have been extraordinary and exceptional.

I have said that the Chinese are not migratory nor aggressive. The one expression is not synonymous with the other, and yet it may be said that no people are aggressive whose instincts are not in some measure migratory, and that no people are migratory who do not become, by the fact, aggressive. It is inevitable when conquest comes, that the conquerors shall, in some way, occupy the region. It is inevitable, when migration takes place, that the new element shall, in some way, come into collision with the old—become aggressive as a very means of defence.

What, then, is to be said, first, of the conquests of the Chinese.

This vast empire is not the creation of a day. It had assumed, practically, its present proportions long enough before our government was formed, but in all this time, during which we have spread out from a narrow fringe of population scattered along the Atlantic until we cover the richest portions of the continent from sea to sea, what has China done in the way of conquest or aggression. Has Corea, a petty state of five to eight millions, whose capital is scarcely a fortnight's journey on horseback from the capital of China, fallen a prey to the ambition of her great neighbor? Have the Lew Chew islands, forming a petty kingdom off her coast, lost their independence? Has Annam, or Cambodia, or Burmah, or Siam, been incorporated into the body politic? Has there been made a single movement by China calculated to threaten the safety of those states, or have they had any reason to regard her with any other feelings than those of respect, confidence and friendliness?

There is to me a great attraction in the fact that this vast empire has stood for generations, nay centuries, regardful of her neighbors' boundaries and their rights. Whether this has been the result of her weakness or of her virtue matters little for the purposes of our argument, but who can say that it has been the result altogether of weakness. Her civilization has been superior to theirs, her resources have been overwhelming, her power has been consolidated. And yet, despite of all the allurements of dominion, the ambition of princes, the encroachments of individuals, they have retained their territories and China has remained their steadfast friend and ally, exacting no tribute, interchanging offices of friendliness, presenting to the world a spectacle of moderation and good faith the like of which has scarcely been seen elsewhere in any age or in any quarter of the globe.

We may well pause a moment to regard the facts more carefully.

Corea, the most northern of these petty states occupies a fair region, and geographically speaking is naturally a part of China. Her northern boundary touches Chinese territory from sea to sea. The waters which lave her coasts are seas in which China has an interest. Her territory is a peninsula jutting into the ocean from a mainland which is owned by China. Her population does not exceed a third of the average population of the several provinces of the empire.

Lew Chew is a petty state with a handful of people only, adjacent to the middle coast of China, possessed of a fertile soil and genial climate, with some resources within herself, rich in fisheries, and holding a situation which might be considered of political importance to her great neighbor.

Annam which includes, or has generally included, Tonquin, Annam proper, and more or less of Cambodia, and stretches away from the southern boundary of China a thousand miles, is in great part a rich champaign country, occupied by races which are of Mongolian origin. The states which compose this district have at different times fallen more or less perfectly under Chinese control, but for a century, nearly, the Chinese have not interfered with them. They have been torn, however, by rivalries between themselves and with the more western states of the same region, and have offered to any aggressive race opportunities for easy conquest. The population of the whole region, including the districts lately occupied by the French, does not exceed 10,000,000.

Siam, a second great division of Farther India, touches Annam on the east, China on the north and Burmah on the west. Her people are more nearly allied to the Indian stock than to the Mongolian. Her territory is level and rich in the south, but mountainous in the north. Her population does not exceed 7,500,000.

Burmah, a third great division, touches China on the north east. The population is probably about 3,000,000. Her territories on the north and east are rough and unprofitable, but an extensive region in the south and west is well watered and fertile.

These several states, hardly less than Corea and Lew Chew, would have offered to an aggressive neighbor, of the immense resources of China, a tempting field for conquest. They were not banded together. Their population was not homogenous. They were frequently pitted one against the other in war, They were rich in various resources. Their peoples were less vigorous than the Chinese. They were more or less connected with the Chinese by earlier relations and by commercial enterprises, yet there has been profound peace between each and all of them and the Chinese for nearly a century.

It may be said that the relations existing have been more than simply peaceful. It has been usual for each of these states to send to the court of Peking at given periods, envoys bearing complimentary presents and letters of a congratulatory sort. In some if not in all cases, each new ruler has requested the confirmation of his authority in the form of a patent of investiture issued by the government of China. The Chinese have sent back complimentary missions and presents. These relations have been in the main those which might be expected to subsist between petty Asiatic states and a greater power whose capacity to injure was manifest, but whose disposition to draw closer the bonds of friendliness was constantly exhibited.

It might be expected that the greater state would at least demand that the allied lesser states should receive her people and afford them normal opportunities for the prosecution of trade and of such enterprises as might be agreeable to them. But China does not seem to have asked even this from her neighbors. She neither sought to defend her people in going out among them, nor took measures to prevent their going. They were constantly going in greater or less measure, but they accepted themselves all the risks attending their movements. Into some of the petty states, at least Corea, the Chinese were prohibited from coming. The prohibition remains to this day, and China makes no complaint. In Lew Chew no Chinese are resident, but whether this is the result of prohibition or not I am not in a position to state.

In Annam the Chinese have been received for the most part, in a friendly manner. They wander into the country wifeless, and intermarry freely with the native women. Rakel says that they are regarded and treated almost like natives, and Crawford, who had been much among the Annamites, said that the best means which Europeans can command there for the promotion of whatever ends of commerce and intercourse they entertain is the assistance of Chinamen.

Under these circumstances we should expect to find a large population of the Chinese in Annam. Her rich lands, her mineral wealth, her thinner population, the inferior vigor and energy of her people, would all seem calculated to invite the practical, industrious, enterprising and money loving Chinese to find their way thither in great numbers. The facts, however, do not bear out the expectation. Ritter estimates the Chinese population of Cochin China, (lower Annam,) at 40,000 souls, and of Tonquin at 25,000. French authors estimate the Chinese who were resident in the Saigon district at the time of their occupation at about 5,000. All these estimates are vague and more likely, as I believe, to be above the mark than below it, for the reason that authors who deal with Eastern questions appear to be disposed to exaggerate the influence of China upon the surrounding populations. Those at least who are not acquainted with the Chinese and who judge from the European stand-point naturally conceive that a population of 300,000,000 cannot fail to have made itself felt in a very positive manner among surrounding inferior populations.

I cannot but dwell a moment here to indicate the very good impression which the Chinese in Tonquin and Cochin China have made upon European observers. Crawford, as I have stated, declares that they are the people most likely to promote there the objects of Europeans. He adds that while we must depend upon them for information, they exhibit a degree of sound judgment which is seldom found among the natives and that he had seldom been deceived when he followed their advice. Finlayson remarks at some length in the same sense, and the French appear to have received equally favorable impressions and to have decided that Chinese immigration to their lately acquired territories should be encouraged. In Tonquin, a considerable portion of the Chinese element is engaged in agriculture, and another part in gold mining. In Cochin China, the Chinese seldom become workers in the fields and their population is confined almost exclusively to the towns, in which they are for the most part traders and money lenders.

In Siam the Chinese have taken up a more prominent position than in Annam and Burmah. Crawford, fifty years ago, estimated the whole population at 2,735,000, and the Chinese part at 440,000. Pallegoix, writing more lately, set down the general population at 6,000,000, and the Chinese at 1,500,000, and Mouhot's report is the same. The occasion for this larger intercourse between Siam and China than between the other southern districts and the northern empire is to be found in the facts that for a long period rice and sugar, staple articles of food among the Chinese, have been produced there in quantities admitting of exportation to China, and that Siam abounds in valuable woods which have been in great demand for exportation. In this way, long ago, a large trade sprang up, the Chinese bringing in various wares and merchandise and taking out food supplies, timber, &c. They were even permitted to build junks in Siam and to have these enrolled in China upon the same terms as home built vessels. It would appear also that they were not limited as residents to trade and the ordinary lines of enterprises, but were largely employed by the government in the collection of its revenues and as farmers of government monopolies. One cannot wonder that under these circumstances they have obtained a strong position in the state.

In estimating the Chinese population at one and a half millions, it appears likely that not only the immediate immigrants have been counted, but also the children and descendants of immigrants who have retained the national dress and habits of their fathers. The Siamese and the Chinese are very unlike in physical characteristics, in habits of life and in dress, and it would be only a natural thing for the Chinese, although they marry native women to rear their children as members of the favored class to which they themselves belong.

The Chinese in Burmah are few in number. The distance by sea is so great that the rude junks have not often essayed the voyage, and, practically, all intercourse has been conducted landward with Yunnan, the southwest province of the empire. The country which intervenes between the richer portions of Burmah and Yunnan is mountainous, and it remains in great part in possession of half savage tribes.

It appears from this recital that Chinese settlers have gained no foothold at all in Corea and the Lew Chew islands, that in the eastern states of Farther India and in Burmah, their numbers are inconsiderable, and that to Siam only, of all the petty states named, they have gone in numbers calculated to attract attention. In this instance, it is to be said that the circumstances have conspired to attract them thither. There have been wants on the one and the other side which the other could supply. A good disposition has prevailed between the two governments. The Chinese are superior in mental and physical energy. The voyage from Canton to Bangkok, in junks, under favorable circumstances, would not exceed a fortnight.

But if stress be laid upon this instance as one which shows a tendency on the part of the Chinese to emigrate when opportunities are favorable, it may be said that their failure to enter and to overrun Corea, the Lew Chew islands, and the various states of Farther India, exhibits in a more marked degree their unwillingness or inability to force themselves into districts where the very most favorable opportunities do not exist.

I shall not dwell upon this proposition, because there are other examples of the failure of the Chinese, as pioneers and colonists, which are in point.

The facts in regard to the Chinese occupation of Formosa are very pertinent in this connection. This island lies immediately opposite the richest and most populous provinces of the empire. It is 250 miles long and 90 miles broad in its widest part. The strait which separates it from China is 60 miles wide. It is rich in mineral resources and the productions of the soil. The Chinese made their conquest, (if it may be called such,) of this great territory so long ago as 1683, but down to this moment they do not occupy one half of the island. The rest of it remains in the possession of aboriginal tribes who are not thrifty, not vigorous, not even warlike.

The facts in regard to certain aborigines who occupy parts of the soil of China proper are also pertinent. They are called Miau-tsz, and consist of forty or fifty tribes scattered over the mountains of Kwantung, Kwang Si, Hunan and Kweichau, provinces of southern central China. They live in mud hovels, or in huts constructed upon the branches of trees. Their agriculture is rude, and their garments are obtained by barter with the lowland Chinese, or coarsely woven by themselves. They appear to be savages who are in more or less constant strife among themselves, and who instead of taking up from the Chinese any part of their civilization, seize all good opportunities to plunder them. They have been able, nevertheless, to hold their mountain homes free from the encroachments of Chinese settlers, and in spite of all attempts of the government to subdue them.

It has been generally believed that the large Chinese population of Manchuria affords evidence of the migratory character of the Chinese people, but the facts, as I understand them, tend in the other direction. This district, extending from the gulf of Pechihli to the Amoor river, a distance of 800 miles, and averaging 500 miles in breadth, is a region fit for an empire. It is fairly well watered, the soil is capable of producing large crops of such grains as flourish in our Northern States, and the climate is not unlike that of New England. It is said that tobacco grows from one end of this region to the other, and the fact demonstrates its resources as an agricultural country. It has a central plain running the whole distance from the gulf to the Amoor, the water-shed of the southern part looking to the south, that of the north toward the Amoor. This plain, or valley, is bordered on the east and west by mountains which are rich in mineral wealth. The population in earlier centuries was given to agricultural pursuits, to hunting and fishing, but was not nomadic like the Mongolian population occupying the great elevated arid plateau west of Manchuria. It was never densely inhabited, and to this day the central and northern valley is a region of tall, waving grass and dense forests broken in upon by occasional towns and hamlets.

The Manchus conquered China nearly 250 years ago, and since then the two countries have been under one rule, and the result is seen in the fact, that the Chinese, who are given to settled ways of life and industry, who are more industrious, and more shrewd than their northern neighbors, have gradually pressed forward, until the southern part of Manchuria has become in fact, and in name, a Chinese province, with a population of ten or twelve millions, nearly all of whom are of Chinese stock. Into central and northern Manchuria they have penetrated, but not to anything like a similar extent, the Manchus retiring before them, as the Indians of our continent retire before the white man, or keeping up a semblance of their national habits and traits in separate quarters of the towns, or in detached villages of their own.

It is somewhat difficult to ascertain the numbers of the native and Chinese population in central and northern Manchuria; that of southern Manchuria I have already given. The population of the former may reach 2,500,000, and of these one-half may be Chinese by birth or origin.

In speaking of southern Manchuria, and of the large Chinese population there, it must be remembered that this region borders upon Chihli, the north-eastern of the Chinese provinces proper, and the seat of the imperial government for the last 500 years. It must be remembered also, that a considerable portion of this region, that bordering the Liau river, has been occupied from the earliest historical periods by a Chinese population, with the settled habits of their nation. "Although situated be-"yond the great wall, it has always been a part, though "a very exposed, and often politically separated part of "China proper."[1]

We see then that the Chinese population of southern Manchuria must be considered native to the soil as much as the populations of the more southern districts, and that its growth, which has been rapid, has been entirely a normal growth, proceeding from the natural increase of the people, and the influx of persons from neighboring provinces attracted thither, as the people of our Eastern States are attracted to our northwest country by the excellence of the soil, and the abundance of unoccupied land.

Liautung or southern Manchuria embraces a district of 60,000 square miles; Kirin or central Manchuria, 135,000 square miles, and Tsitsihar or northern Manchuria, 195,000 square miles. The latter districts as I have indicated, are hardly touched by the hand of man. Situated so near to densely settled parts of the empire, possessed of an excellent climate, fertile soil, mineral resources, and fair water communications, what has hindered the Chinese from occupying them? Kirin and Titsihar have a population of less than ten persons to the square mile. The average in China may be 300 to the square mile. How is it that the "incalculable hordes" of the latter have not passed over and occupied this region? The answer is to be found in the simple proposition that the Chinese, whether of the north or of the south, and those of the north, less even than those of the south, are not aggressive nor migratory.

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[1] Williamson, North China., Vol. II., p. 77.

Stretching away from the western boundary of Manchuria along the northern boundaries of the provinces of Chihli and Shansi lies the vast region of Inner Mongolia. It is an elevated plateau, where grass grows, and which in some part is fit for the cultivation of the more hardy cereals. Further north it shades away into arid lands and the desert, and beyond these again are the fertile and more low-lying lands of Siberia. Throughout this whole region the slow-moving, phlegmatic Mongolian tends to his flocks, living in tent-like huts, and preserving everywhere the nomadic ways which have characterized the race throughout all the generations of its history. For more than a century this region has been under the sway of the Middle Kingdom. In the southeastern part it presents many analogies to the physical features of Manchuria. Added to Manchuria, Inner Mongolia makes a district half as large as China proper. The capacities of this immense region are thus described by Dr. Williamson ;—[1]

"The soil of Mongolia appears to be much more capa-"ble of cultivation than is generally supposed. The "countless years during which it has lain fallow, and the "numberless flocks and herds which have pastured upon "its natural grasses, cannot but have enriched the soil.

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[1] North China., p. 14.

"The frost retains the moisture in the earth during the "winter, and so when the summer comes the ground is "fit for produce. I found not only in the valleys of the "mountainous districts, but on the plains, excellent crops "of millet of all kinds, several varieties of pulse and barley in many quarters, also indigo and the poppy for "opium in the large level districts on the northeast. "Judging therefore from the known to the unknown, I "should say that by far the larger part of Inner Mongolia may be laid down in crops. Some tracts are sterile "and sandy; but it seems obvious that a land which "yields such luxuriant crops of tall prairie grass, capable of sustaining countless flocks and herds, would also "abundantly respond to the farmer and the plow. And "though the season is limited, yet the power of the sun "is such that it rapidly brings the crops to perfection, (as "the saying is, you can almost see them growing,) and "thus provides for all the labors of husbandry being "completed before the frost sets in. There is, therefore, "reason to believe that Mongolia will not always continue a sea of grass."

It is possible to suppose that since the Mongols have proven in the past incapable of becoming agriculturists, the patient, labor loving, agricultural Chinese will invade this region, and gradually push the Mongols back toward the desert. I presume that they will do so, but the length of time which will be consumed in the process will not be short. I am not sure, indeed, that the prospect is not as good that the Mongols will become agriculturists as that the Chinese will dispossess them by means of agriculture from the broad plains which they have so long held. For whatever reason the Mongols seem to have lost the valor, or at least the warlike temper, which characterized them when Attila styled himself "the "terror of man and the scourge of God;" when Genghis subdued China and the whole of northern Asia; and when Tamerlane carried his victorious arms to the Ganges. The change, if one of fact and not of appearance only, may indicate a disposition to take up with a more settled life. However this may be, there is now nothing to prevent the Chinese from passing over the border into the grass region, and by a natural extension of their industries making there homes and communities like those which they leave. It would be idle to attempt to estimate, with any exactness, the population of Inner Mongolia, or to compute the numbers of the Chinese who are resident there. The opinion of Dr. Edkins, reaffirmed by Dr. Williamson, is that the Mongols may be taken at about 10,000,000, but neither one nor the other make any calculation of the Chinese. My own conversations with various travelers in that region, and examinations of the statements of those who have written about it, lead me to believe that not so much as one per cent of the lands of Mongolia have been taken up yet by the Chinese.

It would be idle to pursue further the evidence in regard to the outward movements of the Chinese into the surrounding districts belonging to them, or inhabited by races of more or less affinity with them, in order to demonstrate the proposition that they are not aggressive nor migratory. The facts indicate conclusively that the "incalculable hordes" of China have rested very contentedly within their own borders for the last one hundred years.

One has need to take these broad views in order to estimate the nature of the movements of the Chinese toward our shores. There are three hundred millions of Chinese. What have been their achievements during the last century? Have they fought a single battle in that time on foreign soil? Have they annexed or overrun any new district? Have they planted any great colonies? That they have sent abroad many of their people may be admitted. That these have proven themselves, invariably, far superior to any of their neighbors is quite true. Their movements would, indeed, attract great attention if they were those of a less numerous race. If China numbered twenty-five or fifty millions only, they would be worth speaking of and inquiring into. But it is three hundred millions of people who have done so much and no more. If they had martial spirit they would have carried their arms long since, as did their Mongol neighbors, to the shores of the Black Sea, and to the Persian Gulf. If they had commercial genius, their fleets would have sought the coasts of Europe and America, to offer to us their products and to take up ours in return. If they had mechanical genius they would construct mills and workshops, and flood the world with their manufactures.

I do not deny to the Chinaman the capacity for war, for commerce, and for mechanics. Long acquaintance with the race has served to convince me that their capacities are so high that the white man and Chinaman may very well look one another in the face recognizing that they are brothers, endowed by a common Creator, and with a common destiny. But, at the moment, there are failures in their ethics and education, in their polity and organization, which hold them back as individuals and as a nation, and which, as the result of many centuries of unquestioned acquiescence, have developed traits of character that cannot be thrown off readily.

It will not be amiss to call attention here to the stolid indifference of the Chinese to their surroundings as shown by facts attending the famine of 1876–78, in the northern provinces of the empire.

It is believed that in this terrible visitation of Providence, a district embracing a population of sixty millions of people, was more or less affected by distress consequent upon total or partial failures of the crops. All of the province of Shansi, and portions of Chihli, Shantung, Shensi, Honan and Sechuan were in a state of distress. Not less than five millions perished from starvation.

During the three years of this famine I was resident at Peking. The crops in the immediate neighborhood were not good, but they were sufficient for the wants of the people. Not more than one hundred miles distant, however, was the edge of the famine district, and its worst places were not more than three to five hundred miles distant. One would have supposed that, under such circumstances, the people affected, as day after day the extent of the affliction became more apparent and the certainty of their doom became more appalling, would have moved out into the surrounding fruitful districts, and that many refugees would have pressed in upon the great cities accessible to them, where they might expect to procure relief. Perhaps fifty thousand of them did enter Peking, and twice that number the city of Tientsin, which was nearer to the scene of a part of the desolation. Some few thousands were found also in other cities to which foreigners resort, as at Nankin and Chinkiang upon the Yangtsze, and Shanghae.

It is of course true that if a famine should occur in Europe or our own country, an effort more or less commensurate with the extent of the distress would be made to feed the starving in their own homes. But it is no easy matter to feed fifty millions of people, or thirty millions, or ten, or five millions. To feed the starving in the given case was more than ordinarily difficult for the reason that a large portion of the famine districts was inaccessible by water communication and the land carriage had to be made by pack animals that would consume in their journeys almost as much grain as they could carry. The only alternatives which remained to these people were those of perishing upon their own hearth stones or of moving away to the better districts, taking the chances of finding relief. With such alternatives staring in the face an immense mass of people of our stock, an exodus from the afflicted region would have taken place which would have been felt far and wide. Every highway and by-way would have been crowded with refugees. Every city and town beyond the famine limits would have been filled by them. But no such thing occurred in China. The people submitted to their terrible fate, as if there was no possible hope in an outward movement. They perished often in their own homes, one after the other, as strength failed, and they lay there unburied, a prey to whatever four footed beasts or birds of the air chose to feed upon them.

It is idle to call such a people aggressive or migatory. They would have poured out long since from the region of affliction into safer districts, if they had been so, those going improving their own opportunities, and the opportunities of those left behind. It is idle to call them an enterprising people, in one sense, for if they had been, they would have established the means of communication with other districts, of supplying their wants in times of distress, and of fleeing from them. Look at the question as one will, there is no escape from the conclusion that whether as a result of stolid indifference, or of prejudice, of religious training, or whatever other influences may affect them, the Chinese are not given to leaving their proper homes. It is as idle to argue that because they are three hundred millions they will overrun the world, or any given part of it beyond the seas, as that the great ocean itself will pour its waters upon the districts which surround it and overlook it.

PART IV.—CHAPTER VI.

FEARS OF AN OVERFLOWING IMMIGRATION OF THE CHINESE. THE QUESTION OF THEIR DISPOSITON TO EMIGRATE CONTINUED.

The facts in regard to the more distant emigrations of the Chinese. The southern Chinese more active than those of the north. Their more distant emigrations have been to countries under European domination. A new element brought into play. The inducements held out by the more enterprising races. History gives no instance of a spontaneous movement of an inferior race into districts occupied by a superior. The native races in the Asiatic colonial possessions of Europe, inferior to the Chinese. The Chinese in the Spanish Philippine possessions. Those in the Netherlands possessions. Those in the British possessions near the straits of Malacca. Active assistance given to the Chinese immigration into those districts. Control of the Chinese at Singapore. Secret societies. Chinese members of the colonial government. The Chinese in Labuan. The French possessions in Cochin China.

I dealt in the last chapter with the facts bearing upon the disposition of the Chinese to move out from their immediate homes, exhibited in their migrations to the outlying districts belonging to them, or to the petty states bordering upon the territories of the empire.

It will have surprised persons who have not directed their attention to the subject to find that a nation of three hundred millions of people have passed so little out of their own proper *habitat* into the districts immediately surrounding it.

The facts now to be adduced relate to their more distant migrations.

It should be said at the outset, that I am not attempting here to write a history of Chinese migrations, nor to enter into circumstantial details about them. My only purpose is to illustrate the proposition which I enunciated in the last chapter, that the Chinese are not aggressive nor migratory. It would be unnecessary in dealing with this proposition, to go far back in the history of the Chinese, for they may have changed their habits in recent times, and it is the habits of the immediate period, and of the last hundred years with which we are concerned.

I may say, however, in a general way, that the people of south China have always been more active in foreign enterprise than those of the central and northren parts of the empire; that the former are less purely Chinese in stock, and mental bent than their brothers of the north, and that there is reason to believe, that they have lost some part of their wandering tendencies with the more perfect spread of northern influences, and their own more perfect amalgamation with the northern stock.

It would be very interesting, indeed, in this view of the subject, to consider the outgoings of the southern Chinese one, two, three or more centuries ago, and I am not unmindful of the fact that their earlier history in this respect would not be devoid of significance in our present inquiry. It is too remote, however, to be dealt with at the moment, and I have not the space nor the time to devote to the inquiry.

The migrations of the Chinese to other regions than those I have described in the last chapter, are confined practically to districts which have been subjected to European domination. These include the French territories in Cochin China, the Spanish Philippine possessions, the English colony of Singapore, the Netherlands East Indian dominions, Australia, Peru and Cuba.

It is manifest that a new element is brought into play when we consider the emigration of the Chinese to countries which are under European control. If such a country is occupied by people native to the soil, as is the case in the Philippines, French Cochin China, Singapore and the Straits settlements, and the Netherlands Indian dominions, all of which are ruled by white men, the Chinese may be imported to supply an additional labor element, or they may be encouraged to come, in order to enter upon enterprises and industries which are fostered or created by the dominating race. If the given country or district, again, is thinly populated, and laborers are in demand, as in California, Australia, Peru and Cuba, they may be imported to supply the demand, or if not imported encouraged by the opportunities presented to them there, to flow in and take part in the industries which are being carried on.

In either of these cases the way is made easier for emigrants, and a different result may be expected from that which is found when the emigrants have to pour out as pioneers to occupy lands where the stimulus of the presence of a more enterprising race is not felt, where there may be less safety for persons and property, and where the influence of antagonism is not checked by more settled conditions of government.

It is not necessary to enforce this statement by argument or by reference to the instances presented in history. One notable but extreme case may be quoted. We have a population of four millions of negroes. These men are the descendants of an imported stock, and it is safe to say that not one of their progenitors found his way to America of his own motion. They were all imported in order to satisfy a demand for labor which had been brought into existence by the recent occupation of a virgin region by our people.

This instance gives, as a result, the existence upon our soil of a large number of persons who, as may be said without offence, were inferior to our own people at the moment of their introduction, and who, whatever their future may be, still remain a less active and ambitious class than ourselves.

But if we should seek for instances of the immigrations of a less vigorous race into territories occupied by a superior race, which immigrations were due to the unaided movements of the incoming class, I believe that history would not reward our search. In all ages slavery has been known. In all ages dominating races have used inferior races to advance their purposes. But the spontaneous outward movement of a less vigorous people for the purpose of winning bread in lands not only controlled but occupied by a more vigorous race has not been witnessed in any quarter of the globe where political and industrial conditions have been normal. We have seen in our own day the Chinese moving out spontaneously into districts owned by the white man, but this has only occurred where the masses of the local population are Asiatic, or where the population is insufficient to meet the ordinary demands for labor.

It seems to me that the view of the question thus indicated should be full of consolation to Anti-Chinese partisans. The homes of the less vigorous stocks have been Asia, Africa and America. None of the races of either of these continents, within their historical periods, have made any industrial inroads upon Europe, and scarcely any warlike invasion. Asia remains to-day practically Asiatic, save where European domination extends. Africa remains African, and the American continents are the confirmed inheritance of Europe. Speculations may be indulged in as to what may occur hereafter, but the experiences of the past are certain, and there has never been a moment in the history of the world when the supremacy of the Caucasian has been more positive than it is now.

The facts and considerations which I have set forth in earlier chapters in regard to the prospects of the Chinese in California, do not seem to me to point to a different result there. Their immigration is an incident, an episode only. The facts and considerations to be advanced now in regard to their emigrations to other districts controlled by members of the Caucasian race, will confirm this conclusion.

I shall deal very briefly with the movements of the Chinese to the European colonial possessions bordering upon the Asiatic continent, for the reason that they are not at most of great significance for us. The people of the several districts in question are less vigorous than the Chinese, and it has been natural that the latter whether as the result of direct inducements held out to them by the governments concerned, or of those extended by members of the ruling classes, should go thither. But even under these circumstances, the facts sustain the general proposition which I have advanced that the Chinese are not migratory,

The number of the Chinese in the Spanish Philippine possessions is small. Yagor says that in 1867 the entire Chinese population was about 18,000. I have no doubt that it would have been far greater if more liberality had been exhibited toward them. Two centuries ago many thousands of them were killed in different massacres, and strenuous efforts were made to keep down their numbers by extreme measures, which could not be justified even by the weakness of the Spanish rule, and the vigor shown by the Chinese. The repressive measures then taken have been succeeded by others, which, while more regular, have not been less effective. Discriminating taxes have been laid upon them which so far handicap their struggles in the different fields of competition that they find but little inducement to place themselves under Spanish protection. It is difficult to decide how far these taxes are imposed with a view to discourage immigration, and how far the Spanish are controlled merely by the desire to realize revenue from every quarter from whence it may be drawn.

The Netherlands possessions have afforded to the Chinese very different opportunities. No colonists are so successful as the Dutch in realizing large pecuniary results from their enterprises of this sort, and in retaining at the same time the good will of the subordinate populations. They have encouraged the influx of the Chinese almost uniformly, and they have accorded to them some exceptional privileges as residents, such as the right to acquire landed possessions, and to control their own societies in great part. They have a well selected and carefully educated corps of interpreters and of officials, charged with the more immediate supervision of the Chinese. Some of these I have known personally, and they were uniformly men of high education and general qualifications.

The island of Java contained in 1871, 181,732 persons who were classed as Chinese. The Dutch possessions in Borneo had about 50,000; those in Sumatra, 30,000; Banka and Biliton about 18,000; the islands of the Rio-Liuga archipelago, 25,000, and the rest of the archipelago, perhaps 5,000. This would give an entire Chinese population in the districts named of 310,000. In this number perhaps something less than one-third were men who were either born in China, or who, if born in the region of their domicile, were of pure blood, or remained attached to the Chinese element because of their paternity and the affiliations to which it gave rise. The others were women and children of more or less mixed Malay and Chinese blood.

It will be seen that the larger part of this population is in Java. The estimate of 181,732 follows simply the Dutch census of 1871. The earlier censuses gave the following results;—1856, 135,649; 1845, 105,983; 1838, 100,987. This amounted, in 1871, to one per cent. of the entire population. The population of 1856 consisted of men, 29 per cent.; of women, 28 per cent.; and of children, 43 per cent.; the women and children and some part of the men being of mixed blood.

The possessions of the Netherlands are distant from Canton, for steaming vessels, not more than from eight to ten days; for sailing vessels, in the favorable monsoons, not more than from ten to twenty days. They are, therefore, very accessible to the Chinese. The Chinese are described as uniformly far superior to the natives, intellectually and physically. They are enabled to buy lands. In 1856, eighty per cent. of the lands belonging to private individuals in Java were in the hands of Europeans, and eighteen per cent. Chinese owned. They find some industries which are peculiarly their own, such as tea planting and fruit culture. They are very much employed by the government and by individuals as overseers of the native field hands. They are in great demand in the tin mines of Banka and Billiton, and in the gold mines and the search for precious stones in Borneo. They deal largely in certain exports to China, peculiar to those regions, as trepang, birds' nests, &c.

In view of all the attractions indicated, the fact that they do not exceed 100,000 men in the Dutch possessions, affords a very pertinent commentary upon the question of their disposition to leave their native country. The Dutch occupations of Java and of New York were contemporaneous. It is a long period in history which has intervened. There were Chinese in Java when the Dutch acquired their foothold. They were feared and hated by the natives, they were distrusted by the Dutch for a season, but soon came to be appreciated and encouraged. While Europeans have changed the face of America, the Chinese, in this fairest of all the lands of the Orient, have made a lodgment merely. They have not "Mongolian-"ized" Java. They are there as diligent traders and patient workers, docile and faithful in all the relations of life, appreciative of good government, and a source of strength to the government.

The British colony of Singapore, and the neighboring British colonies of Pulo Penang and Malacca, have been the scene of much activity on the part of the Chinese.

The town of Singapore is situated upon an island of the same name. The town and island were taken possession of in 1819. At that time the English found there a sparse population of Malays, who were mostly pirates. The town became at once a center of trading interests. In point of fact, its situation is a rarely favorable one. Every steam vessel which passes from Burmah, British India, and Europe, toward the eastern portion of Asia, the Malay, and Philippine archipelagos, and Japan, takes the route by the Straits of Malacca and the colony of Singapore. It is a way-station, therefore, of great importance, and its central position, as respects Farther India, and the Malay and Philippine archipelagos, give it importance as an emporium of trade for those regions.

In 1827 the population of the town and island was 14,000, of which the Chinese numbered 6,000; in 1836 it had mounted to 30,000, of which the Chinese were 13,749; in 1849, 59,043, Chinese 27,998; in 1859, 81,792, of which 50,043 were Chinese; in 1871, 97,111, Chinese 54,572. The European population in 1849 was 360; in 1859, 430; in 1871, 1,946.

It will be seen that the Chinese in this virgin region have proven the most satisfactory settlers under the British rule. The English would have encouraged the influx of any class likely to prove useful. They had the neighboring mainlands and islands, and not least, their own Indian empire, from which to draw laborers and settlers, but it was the Chinamen who were found most available and most satisfactory.

The latter came at first largely as agricultural laborers, but as the lands of the island became exhausted, and as trade increased, the tendency on their part has been to abandon such work and to enter upon trade in the city. Nine-tenths of the traders in Singapore are now Chinese, and it is said that no vessels from the islands reach Singapore which are not boarded by them as they approach, and that all the products of the Malay archipelago which are brought to Singapore for sale pass through their hands. Their merchants are not only esteemed upon change as they are in San Francisco, but they may be met at the council board of the colonial government, and in the social entertainments of the city.

Owing to its central situation, many of the Chinese who go there as emigrants from their native land, are distributed from thence to the neighboring settlements of the English and of the Dutch. It is said that as many as 15,000 frequently arrive in the course of a single year.

This movement on the part of the Chinese is spontaneous in one sense, but it is actively assisted and encouraged by native agents, and by dispositions made by the authorities of Singapore. Bands of from fifteen to twenty men are gathered in different parts of the province of Kwangtung by these agents, who advance, if necessary, the money needed to pay for their outfits and passages, and who are reimbursed at Singapore for these advances, and in addition receive a commission in payment for their own expenditures and their assistance. Upon arriving in Singapore, the passengers are allowed to enter into contracts with planters, or with other agents who take them to more distant points, and the original agents are reimbursed by the planters or by these latter agents. If arrangements are not voluntarily entered into at once, and without the intervention of the colonial authorities, the passengers are removed to houses provided for the purpose, where their wants are carefully attended to, and they remain in these until employers are found who will satisfy the claims against them, and with whom they are prepared to contract for their labor.

It will be seen that this system of dealing with immigrants is entirely different from our own. Our policy has been to discourage contract immigration, that of the colony of Singapore to encourage it. The colonial authorities recognize perfectly the fact, that Chinese labor becomes in a sense servile under these circumstances, but they found the advance system existing, that the sums advanced were very small, usually not exceeding twenty dollars, and they thought it wiser to take the business under their own surveillance in the interest of the laborers and of the employing class, than to let it pass unnoticed.

The duty of managing these houses for the detention of immigrants who arrive in debt, is committed to an officer who is called the protector of the Chinese, and whose general work and that of his associates, is to make themselves in all ways familiar with the wants of the Chinese in Singapore, to teach them to rely upon the government rather than upon their various societies and organizations for protection, and to act generally as mediators between them and the government. The need of such a bureau was recognized long since. I find in Mr. Laurence Olyphant's report of Lord Elgin's Mission to China and Japan, written in 1857 or 1858, the following remarks, which are pertinent to our general subject as well as to the history of Chinese immigration to the immediate district;—[1]

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[1] Lord Elgin's Mission, p. 29.

"There is a population of 70,000 Chinese in Singapore "and not a single European who understands their language. The consequence is, that in the absence of any "competent interpreter, they are generally ignorant of "the designs of government and are apt to place themselves in an antagonistic attitude whenever laws are "passed affecting their peculiar customs. No effort is "made to overcome a certain exclusiveness arising "hence; and this is fostered by the secret societies, "which exercise an important moral influence upon the "minds of all, but more particularly the ignorant portion of the population. Were Chinese themselves put "into positions of authority under government, and allowed to share to some extent in the responsibilities "and duties of British citizens, which, intellectually considered, they are quite competent to undertake, the "barrier which now exists between the two races would "be partially removed and the natural distrust and suspicion engendered by our present system would, in "all probability, quckily disappear. Nor is this mere "speculation. We have fortunately in their own empire a perpetual proof before our eyes of that reverence for authority, when judiciously enforced, which is "one of their chief characteristics, and which has for so "many centuries been the preservation of its union, and "one great source of its prosperity. That the most active, industrious and enterprising race in the Eastern "world should be regarded as a source of weakness "rather than of strength to a community, implies, *prima "facie*, a certain degree of mismanagement."

The views thus expressed in regard to the carelessness of the government in the matter of interpreters appears to have been remedied later on, for I find in a report made to the governor of the colony in September, 1876, by the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer and the inspector general of police, who had been appointed a committee to take evidence and report "upon the condi-"tion of Chinese in the colony and whether any legislation "is needed for their protection and control," a statement that the colony then possessed two competent interpreters. The commissioners were not content with this, however, and their first recommendation was "that Pro-"tectors of Chinese be appointed in Singapore and Pe-"nang, (probably later on in Malacca,) who should be "European gentlemen conversant with the Chinese dia-"lects, and that they should be assisted by respectable "Chinamen, belonging to the different provincialists who "resort here."

This advice was acted upon promptly and on the 23d of the same month a colonial ordinance was passed, providing, among other things, that ;—" It shall be lawful for "the Governor to appoint at each or any of the settle-"ments a Protector of Chinese Immigrants, and such "number of Assistant Protectors and other officers as "may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this "ordinance."

Since that date the protector, appointed for the Chinese of Singapore, has made regular annual reports to the colonial government, and throughout these I find abundant evidence of the improvement effected among the people in question. The subject of the character and influence of secret societies among them was grappled with, the difference between certain of them which may be styled as friendly and having the same general purposes as the six companies of California, and others which existed for nefarious or illegal purposes, like the Hip Ye Tung in San Francisco, being established by evidence, and measures taken to do away with the latter. Attention was also given with good results to the importation of prostitutes and to other special evils.

While speaking of this part of the subject, I may allude to the fact that not only in Singapore, but also in the British colony of Labuan, Chinese have been invited to act as members of the colonial council. I have known, personally, one of the Chinese members of the Singapore government, and can confirm the universally favorable way in which he has been spoken of throughout the East. And not only is this true, but the great Indian empire has found it desirable to take up the same policy. The Queen's viceroys, acting under the approval of the English government, have not only thrown open the public services to natives having the education and capacity to be so employed, but in the lists of those forming the councils of successive viceroys, will be found the names of distinguished native gentlemen. The approval of these gentlemen is as necessary before any laws or regulations for the immense masses of the Indian empire, can be enforced, as that of the other members of the council.

In Penang, Wellesley and Malacca, other districts under the Singapore government, there were, in 1871, probably 50,000 Chinese. Labuan has also a small number of Chinese residents. Taken altogether, their numbers in the several British dependencies named exceed 100,000, and may, at the present moment, run up to 125,000. These, taken with those residents in the Dutch dominions, make the whole number in the Malay archipelago and the Straits settlements not much more than 400,000. There are, of course, some Chinese outside of the districts under the control of the Dutch and English, but their numbers are few, and there is no estimate of them which can be relied upon.

The French occupation of Cochin China is of recent date, but it is already well established, and it bids fair to become prominent in the annals of European conquests in the East. There is no more fertile region in the world, as we have seen, than Farther India. The position occupied by the French is a commanding one for the whole district between the China sea, the gulf of Siam and the boundary of China. The French are certainly good colonists, although they have been unfortunate in losing all the colonies which they have founded on both sides of the globe. There is a prospect that they will succeed better, however, in Farther India, and that they will gradually extend their rule, until they have built up an eastern empire which will not seem insignificant in comparison even with that of England.

The number of Chinese who are settled in French Cochin China is not yet great, but it increases yearly. In the absence of detailed information, I shall not attempt to estimate their actual population.

PART IV.—CHAPTER VII.

FEARS OF AN OVERFLOWING IMMIGRATION OF THE CHINESE. THE QUESTION OF THEIR DISPOSITION TO EMIGRATE CONTINUED.

Emigration to Australia, Peru and Cuba. The emigration to the first of these deserves especial attention, because the conditions there are similar to those in California. The population of Australia. The number of Chinese in Australia. Australian immigration tainted by the contract system. Proposed regulations for contract emigration. Contract emigration to Singapore. Contract emigration to Australia. Share-system among the Chinese. The contract system promotes emigration. Difficulties of Chinese miners in Australia. Protection of miners. Earnings in mines. Other occupations. Exclusion from general industries and the causes. Opportunities in California and Australia compared. Remittances to China. The mercantile class. Sanitary regulations. Women. Arbitration of disputes. Legislation against the Chinese. Agitation. Peru and Cuba. No voluntary movement to these districts. Commerce in laborers. Atrocities attending this commerce. Numbers in Peru and Cuba. The future of Chinese emigration to all parts of the world. They will find their most appropriate theatre in their own hemisphere.

I have now presented the salient facts in regard to the outflow of the Chinese to the districts immediately surrounding them, and to the not distant dominions of European powers in the Asiatic quarter of the globe. It remains to speak of their emigration to Australia, Peru and Cuba.

Australia is the only one of these regions which deserves more than a passing notice. The conditions there, indeed, present so many points of resemblance to those in California that it is worth while to study them in detail, as well as in a general way. It is an immense region, a continent, with large areas of fertile lands, an excellent climate, and great mineral wealth. The aboriginal population at the time when the English occupation began, was scanty everywhere. In some parts it was composed of an inoffensive and degraded people who were incapable of being raised to an appreciation of the ways of civilization or of being utilized in the industries of the settlers; other parts were occupied by ferocious savages with all the traits of North American Indians.

Into this region settlers from different sections of the British islands have been going in large numbers for the last thirty years. The whole population in 1871 was divided between the several colonies as follows ;—

New South Wales	501,611
Victoria	729,868
South Australia	188,995
Queensland	115,567
Western Australia	24,785
Northern "	201

In the year 1854 attention began to be directed to the great richness of the alluvial and quartz gold mines of certain districts, more particularly to those of the colony of Victoria. Reports of their wealth were carried at once to China, as had been the case already in the instance of the discovery of gold in California, and the Chinese of the same parts of the empire as those from which the immigrants to America come, began another but less important exodus to the new gold hills, as they were called to distinguish them from those of California.

It is not necessary to detail the successive stages of this emigration, as it is only in its broader aspects that we have occasion to study it. It has proceeded generally like that to California, at intervals moderating, at other moments exhibiting a magnitude which has occasioned alarm. We find, however, that at the end of 1876 the numbers of the Chinese in the several districts were as follows ;—[1]

Victoria	16,000
New South Wales	6,000
Queensland	20,000
New Zealand	6,000
Other colonies	1,000
	49,000

At the same period I have estimated the number of Chinese in the United States at about 100,000, so that their number in Australia and New Zealand is about half that of those in our country.

I find at once a radical difference in the character of the two emigrations. That to our country, as I have already demonstrated has been free and voluntary in all respects, but that to Australia has been tainted in some degree by the contract system. The reason for this is manifest. So long ago as the early part of 1862 the Congress of the United States, freed from the presence of members who had an interest in maintaining the institution of slavery upon American soil, moved by the abhorrence of it which had long been generating throughout the free States, by the great struggle with its upholders in the South who had precipitated upon the country a civil war of unparalleled magnitude, and by the reports of the horrors attending the exportation of coolies to Peru and Cuba and their employment there, passed an Act to prevent the coolie-trade so called. The purpose and scope of this Act are sufficiently indicated in sections 2,158 and 2,162 of the Revised Statutes of the United States ;—

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[1] For many of the facts detailed in this chapter, I am indebted to Mr. Dundas Crawford, of H. M.'s consular service, who visited Australia in 1877, and reported his observations in regard to the Chinese to H. M.'s minister at Peking.

"2158. No citizen of the United States, or foreigner "coming into or residing within the same, shall for him-"self, or for any other person, either as master, factor, "owner, or otherwise, build, equip, load or otherwise pre-"pare any vessel, registered, enrolled or licensed in the "United States, for the purpose of procuring from any "port or place the subjects of China, Japan, or any other "Oriental country, known as 'coolies,' to be transported "to any foreign port or place, to be disposed of, or sold, "or transferred, for any time, as servants or apprentices, "or to be held to service or labor.

"2162. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to "apply to any voluntary emigration of the subjects speci-"fied in section twenty-one hundred and fifty-eight, or "to any vessel carrying such person as passenger on "board the same, but a certificate shall be prepared and "signed by the consul or consular agent of the United "States residing at the port from which such vessel may "take her departure, containing the name of such per-"son, and setting forth the fact of his voluntary emigra-"tion from such port, which certificate shall be given to "the master of such vessel; and the same shall not be "given until such consul or consular agent is first per-"sonally satisfied by evidence of the truth of the facts "therein contained."

It will be noticed that this law provides very rigidly against what is generally called contract-labor, and makes it difficult for any person in China to engage Chinese to labor for a period in America, or to transport them hither under an engagement that they shall refund their passage money by service rendered for a period after their arrival.

The different views held by English representatives in China is indicated by the fact, that in 1866, the British minister, in company with his French colleague, prepared, and procured the approval of the Chinese government for, a set of regulations in regard to contract emigration. These consisted of twenty-two articles, intended to assure regularity and fair dealing in the engagement of Chinese to labor in foreign districts. The nature of the engagements proposed is exhibited with sufficient fullness in the seventh article, which is as follows:—

" The contracts shall specify ;—

" 1st. The place of destination, and the length of the "engagement.

"2d. The right of the emigrant to be conveyed back "to his own country, and the sum which shall be paid at "the expiration of his contract to cover the expenses of "his voyage home, and that of his family, should they "accompany him.

"3d. The number of working days in the year, and "the length of each day's work.

"4th. The wages, rations, clothing, and other advantages promised to the emigrant.

"5th. Gratuitous medical attendance.

"6th. The sum which the emigrant agrees to set aside "out of his monthly wages for the benefit of persons to "be named by him, should he desire to appropriate any "sum to such a purpose.

"7th. Copies of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 14th, and 22d "Articles of these Regulations."

These regulations were based upon a set of rules which had been in force under local sanction for several years, and affected the engagement of Chinese at Canton to go to British colonies.

The British and French governments did not approve the proposed regulations but neither the one nor the other has enacted any general law such as our own, providing for the examination of proposing emigrants, with a view to determine whether they are voluntary emigrants in the broad sense of our law. The colony of Hong Kong has made certain regulations, but as these do not extend so far as our law, and are not supplemented by legislation in the colonies, the effect intended by our law is not obtained.

A commentary on this condition of things is afforded, by the facts cited in the last chapter regarding emigration to Singapore. The act creating the office of protector of Chinese has been so amended, that he is not at liberty to detain a passenger against his will, in order to force him to enter into a contract by which he may provide for a refund of advances made by his importer, but depots are established by the importers at Singapore under license, and to these the immigrants are generally conducted upon arrival. Once there, the protector visits them and tells them, in the language of a report made by him under date of January 12th, 1878, "that while "no coercion or fraud will be permitted against them, it "is only reasonable that, in return for passage money "and maintenance, they should be willing to repay to "the importer a fair remuneration." It does not appear in any of these reports that the importer may bring suit to recover the amount of his advances to the immigrant, and may imprison the debtor to enforce payment, but this is to be inferred from the general character of the legislation, and more particularly from Section 9 of Ordinance No. III of 1877, which is as follows ;—

"Any emigrant who shall have received any sum of "money by way of advance on a contract to labor with-"out the colony, or for whom, on his entering into a con-"tract to labor without the colony, any sum of money "may have lawfully been expended by a person with "whom the contract is made, or by any person in his be-

"half, who shall not leave the colony in terms of his "contract, shall be liable on conviction to a penalty not "exceeding one hundred dollars, or to imprisonment, "which may be of either description, for any period, not "exceeding three months. Provided, always that if the "intending emigrant shall pay back, or cause to be paid "back, to the person with whom he may have contracted, "all sums lawfully advanced for him, and all expenses "lawfully incurred for him, under the said contract, such "intended emigrant shall not be prosecuted criminally "under this section."

It is evident that the results which would follow the two systems, the American and English, would be radically different. No American citizen would advance money to persons proposing to emigrate from China to the United States, in contravention of the law which I have quoted, or relying upon his ability to enforce a contract to labor in our courts. It is conceivable that Chinese may do so, but if such is the case I have failed, as shown in the earlier chapters, to find any evidence of the fact. It is the part of wisdom to provide against such attempts on the part of the Chinese, and I have pointed out the means which may be adopted to this end. In the English colonies, at least in Singapore, the case is otherwise, for legislation there favors the importation of coolies under contract, and contracts for their labor to be carried out even beyond the limits of the colony.

How far the same conditions exist in Australia I am not in position to know. I find, however, a statement in Rakel's "Wanderings of the Chinese," that in 1874 great efforts were made to attract the Chinese to Queensland to enter into the culture of sugar and cotton, and that offers were made at Shanghae, the center of a cotton growing district, to contract for such laborers at seven dollars a month, expenses of passage both ways and rations; that similar offers were made at Swatow and Amoy, ports adjoining the sugar-growing districts; but both essays failed. An earlier attempt made to introduce Chinese under contract into North Australia appears to have been more successful as Rakel speaks of the first two hundred who settled there as having been imported "*via* Singapore," under agreements to work at specified wages for a period of two years. Mr. Crawford, referring to the same incident, says that these Chinese "were experimentally introduced by the government, "from Singapore, under agreement."

I do not learn, and I do not believe, that foreigners have entered upon the business of exporting coolies to Singapore or to Australia excepting in very rare instances, and this would not be necessary as Chinese agents enter upon it with avidity when enabled to do so with safety. As nearly as I can learn, the coolies who arrive at Singapore are in large part taken there by such agents. Those who go to Australia on the contrary are more frequently voluntary emigrants, that is to say, they pay their passages themselves in advance, and are free to labor where and with whom they like. Others, however, come in bands of ten to thirty or more, under a captain, who goes with them to the mines and directs their labors there, and these men may be either under contract with the captain, working for a stated price *per mensem* and repaying the amount of their passages and other expenses out of their wages, or they may be members of societies or companies co-operating together, the captain being only one of their number and given prominence by the voice of the company as a person of more experience in mining enterprises. The Chinese habit of co-operative work is a marked feature in all their industries. The farm laborer sometimes, and in certain employments, as sugar-growing, almost invariably, receives a share of the crop, for his services. It may be supposed under these circumstances that these bands are co-operative to a very great extent, but on the other hand it is not unlikely, in fact probable, that the laborers of such bands are sometimes, if not often, under contract to the captain and to the persons with whom he is associated.

It may be presumed that the employers of contract-labor in Australia have the power to enforce their contracts in the courts, and if such is the case the disposition of Chinese to introduce contract-laborers would be so far sustained by their ability to hold their men that they would enter upon the business to the extent that it may be made profitable.

The situation is very different in the United States. No adequate means are now employed in China to determine whether the emigrant will land upon our soil free to labor as he likes. I have shown that the consulate at Hong Kong is not so constituted that it can be expected to exhibit great efficiency, and beyond this, that the necessary examinations can be thoroughly made only with the assistance of Chinese officials. But the examinations afford, at any rate, a considerable check, and the further check afforded by the fact that no contract can be enforced among us by imprisonment of the laborer violating his agreement, has been sufficient, as it would appear, to discourage perfectly the contract system.

I have taken so much pains to speak upon this subject, because it would be easy to argue that a given condition of affairs in Australia affords strong presumptive evidence that the same conditions exist among us, and it is desirable to remove all the obstacles which prevent a fair consideration of the situation of the Chinese among us.

The facts advanced have a further and very direct bearing upon our immediate subject—the question of the prospects of a large immigration of the Chinese. It is the presumed ability of the persons proposing to emigrate to our country to procure the means to do so from persons who repay themselves from the laborer's service in our country that has led many persons to expect a large immigration. Just that ability would seem to exist in Australia, as it certainly does exist in the British and Dutch settlements at Singapore, Java, &c.; but the results have not been grave. The fifty thousand Chinese in Australia are insignificant in number when compared with the white population, and with the magnificent resources of that vast region; yet it is a place where the conditions favorable to a large influx of Chinese exist in a marked degree.

While the Chinese were attracted to Australia at first, as to California, by the reports of the discovery of gold, they remain in Australia, unlike those in California, engaged chiefly in the search for gold. It is said that four-fifths of them are in the mines.

Their enterprises in mining appear to have been attended by many of the difficulties which their confreres in California have met with. There have been persistent efforts made by the Australian miners to prevent them from working in the better grades of alluvial soil, and it is only when the former have left their work in given places, to hurry away to newer and richer districts that the Chinese have been allowed to take peaceable possession. They have entered very little into quartz mining, and for whatever reason the hydraulic system does not seem to have been introduced into Australia to any great extent.

Greater efforts have been made apparently to protect Chinese miners than in California. Each mining district is placed in charge of a warden, so called, and a corps of constables and detectives, whose duty it is to maintain order in the mines, and to defend the miners, when necessary, from the depredations of the natives. Some of the staff so employed are Chinese, and the evidence shows that a great degree of confidence in the authorities is exhibited by the Chinese miners. At Cook town, the metropolis of the Queensland district, the Chinese waited recently upon the magistrate with a number of complimentary presents, in order to indicate after their fashion, appreciation of his fair dealing in their affairs. In some instances the regulations of the mines, and ordinances of interest are printed and circulated in Chinese as well as English.

The placer mining of Australia like that of California, appears to have passed its period of greatest production. In Victoria, for instance, 14,000 Chinese miners were employed in 1872, and in 1876 their number had been reduced to 11,000. In the Queensland mines a great rush was made in 1875–77, but already in the latter year there were indications that more men were at work than could continue to find profitable employment. Out of 14,452 men engaged in the quartz mines of Victoria in 1876, 106 only were Chinese. In alluvial work the whites were 15,497, and the Chinese 11,061. In the Palmer river districts in 1877, 1,500 Australians were engaged in quartz mines, monopolizing that industry, and perhaps 15,000 Chinese in alluvial work, monopolizing it.

The earnings of miners in Victoria are officially estimated as follows;—

		1872.	1876.
Average annual earnings,	Alluvial mines .	£ 65	£ 45
	Quartz " .	160	140

The earnings of Chinese in alluvial mines in Queensland in 1876, were estimated at £70 a year, for each man engaged.

Their employment by Australians as miners appears to be far more limited than is the case in California. We have seen that very few are engaged in the quartz mines of Victoria, and none at all in Queensland. In New South Wales, however, more are employed. In New Zealand they have been used as sluicers, and to remove the surface earth of claims, the miners not trusting them after reaching "wash dirt."

The greater part of the ten thousand or more Chinese in Australia who are not engaged in mining or as merchants have opened stores, entered into fishing and established market gardens. Others are employed as bakers, butchers, hands on back country stations, cooks on trepang boats, furniture makers, and sometimes as contract road laborers. As storekeepers their enterprises are not confined to supplying the articles in demand by their own people, but they are running a competition with local retailers in supplying necessaries of a cheaper kind to the Australians. As fishermen they are rivals of the Italians, who have largely engaged in this avocation there as they have in California. As market gardeners they are said to have conferred great benefits upon the public, by reducing the cost of vegetables so that they are no longer a luxury to be indulged in by the better classes only, but a cheap and universal article of diet. Their employment by masters not of their own nationality is inappreciable, and as domestic servants they appear to have found no favor. They have not entered into shoe- or cigar-making, and not even upon their favorite industry as launderers. As artisans they appear to have developed even less capacity than in California. As farm laborers they are not employed at all.

The exclusion of the Chinese from many industries is due probably to two causes, the lower rates of wages which prevail than in California, and the efforts of the trades-unions. Wages are high, however, in comparison with the rates in England. Artisans expect to earn from two to three pounds a week, say ten to fifteen dollars, or about New York and Chicago wages. Domestic servants receive from thirty to fifty pounds a year and rations, which is rather more than New York rates. Laborers are paid six to seven shillings a day beside rations, which also is more than New York rates, and much more than the average earnings of the Chinese in the mines. At these rates they would no doubt take employment among the Australians, but the wages for which they would work could not, probably, be so far reduced below these rates as to compensate for their lack of acquaintance with the requirements of the employing class and lack of adaptability. The trades-unions, again, exert a very powerful influence in Australia, their members having taken with them the methods familiar to them in England, and by their organization and unity discouraged any attempts by the employing class to free themselves from their influence.

There are some circumstances, then, which are more favorable to the influx of Chinese into Australia than into California, and others again less favorable. It is possible to use the contract system, and the distance from Canton is considerably less than to San Francisco. There is probably better order maintained in the Australian mines than in those of California. There is far more unoccupied land, and there are whole regions to which the Chinese may go where they would tread a virgin soil, free, practically, from competition with white men. In California they have a greater variety of employments open to them, and may expect higher wages. The tendency toward a fall in wages in California is very marked, however, and it becomes doubtful whether Australian inducements will not soon outweigh those which are presented in that State.

The Australian customs authorities have made an effort to ascertain the amount of the remittances made by the Chinese to China in the form of gold dust, and their reports indicate that about £50,000 are so exported in each year. I find no other data regarding the sums which are sent out of the country by them.

Their expenses in Australia do not equal, probably, those of their compatriots in California, excepting in the newer and more distant gold diggings where they have often to pay for an expensive carriage of goods from the coast to the mines. At Cooktown a miner may live at a good inn for ten shillings a week, having three meals a day of rice with the usual adjunct of chicken, dried fish, beans and vegetables.

Their tendency to increase expenditures as their incomes augment is remarked in Australia as it is in California. There is an imperceptible bettering of dress and personal accessories, of the style of living and of gratifications of the senses. The love of play characterizes them there as everywhere else and old hands in Australia as in California may be known by a certain jauntiness, and knowing manner, as well as the improved dress which they affect.

Chinese merchants are well spoken of in Australia as they are in San Francisco, but their operations, as I should judge, are more limited, and are more directly connected with the mining interest. Some of them are credited with being directly concerned with the mining captains in the importation of contract laborers and the proceeds of their work.

No difficulties have been met with in enforcing the observance of sanitary regulations by the Chinese in the towns. There are not very many congregated in any of the cities. The merchants live in houses which present no external indications of their occupation, and as there are no trades followed extensively by the working men, which attracts them to the towns, their presence is not felt as an evil as it has been in the crowded Chinese-quarter in San Francisco, Breaches of the peace in Sydney and Melbourne are said to arise generally from the disposition of sailors to overbear them in the shops. Offences against sanitary regulations require, as a rule, only occasional warnings from the inspectors of nuisances. Gambling is not much interfered with excepting in the rare instances when young Australians are lured into the houses, or when it assumes larger proportions. Fan-tan, a favorite Chinese gambling game, has been suppressed in Cooktown. The simpler games, as cards and dominos, are played so quietly by little bands in the clubs and tea-houses that they scarcely attract attention.

Mr. Crawford is authority for the statement that in 1876 there were only a score of Chinese women in Australia, and that all of them were wives or maid servants and of good repute. He is authority for the further statement that there are many marriages between Chinese and Irish women, that the husbands are attentive and very frequently join the church of the wife. The children appear to be brought up differently, the boys retaining the dress of the fathers, the girls those of the mothers.

There is no complaint made in Australia in regard to secret societies of the Hip Ye Tung class, nor of the institution of an *imperium in imperio,* to use the language of Mr. Pixley. Exactly the same procedure for the settlement of disputes is found there, however, as in California. On this point Mr. Crawford uses the following language ;—

"Wherever they have settled for any length of time in "Australia and become known, they are considerately "treated. Their judicial cases are conducted with care, "and no better proof of the general acknowledgment of "the justice of the English law could be given than the "fact that they look to the colonial law courts as courts "of appeal from the informal decisions of their clubs or "guilds. Petty as these disputes usually are, the arbitration of head men may fail, and they are then referred to "a general meeting of the particular organization to which "the defendants belong, where the evidence is freely canvassed and a verdict given by acclamation. Fines vary "from the payment of the evening's score to a substantial "contribution, but any party who is not satisfied carries "his case into a colonial court."

I have no doubt that more difficulties are met with in the control of the Chinese at large in California than in Australia, and especially in San Francisco. A summary of the facts presented in Mr. Crawford's report satisfies me however that the colonial governments deal more carefully and wisely with them than the people of California have done, and that they have succeeded in preventing many evils by the simplest administrative measures honestly executed.

I find nothing in Crawford's report in regard to the taxation of the Chinese in Australia, and I am inclined to believe that at the date of his visit no restrictions were placed upon the influx of immigrants. At a later date, a deposit fee was required in Queensland for each Chinese landing, the amount of which was to be held in deposit to provide for the immigrant in case he should become a burden upon the colony, and to be returned to him upon his departure if unused. My impression is that the the law in question was enacted as a measure of precaution only, the rush of immigrants having become so great, and the work in the mines being so uncertain on account of the lack of a regular rainfall, that grave apprehensions were entertained of a famine among the miners.

I have taken no trouble to learn what restrictive measures, if any, have been recently enacted in the Australian colonies, because they are not of consequence in our present discussion. The salient facts are, that until lately no restrictions have been imposed, and that immigration has not been large.

I have said, in the opening part of this chapter, that there is no occasion to inquire, with particularity, into the facts regarding Chinese emigration to Peru and Cuba. The correctness of this statement will be appreciated when I repeat the declaration that there has been no voluntary movement of the Chinese to those countries. This is a matter perfectly well known throughout the civilized world, but it will not be amiss to describe the methods by which the Chinese have been taken thither, and held to a service which has differed but little from slavery.

The immediate object of the importers has been not to obtain laborers for their own use, but to make a commerce in laborers. In nearly all instances they were white men, actively assisted by Chinese. It was the business of the latter to spread reports of the wealth of the region for which men were sought, of the opportunities to grow rich there, &c. By these means, and often, as it is believed, by more nefarious agencies, the assistance of lewd women, pressure for debts, often contracted by gambling into which the coolie had been enticed, threats of prosecution, drugging with opium, and kidnapping outright, the unsuspecting, timid, or despairing countrymen were lured into the barracoons and induced to sign contracts to labor, for a term of years, at four or five dollars a month. The contract once made, the trader could demand, at Macao, at least, the assistance of the government of the colony to guard the coolies until the ships were ready to receive them, while being embarked, and until out of port on their way across the sea. At the port of destination, Callao or Havana, the trader sold his contracts to the highest bidders. Each man may have cost him forty dollars, fifty, or even more, and the contract for his services would command readily four, five, or six hundred dollars. The courts and authorities in Peru and Cuba stood ready to enforce the contracts by physical restraints and punishments, and the power to apply these was often directly delegated to employers. Thus, under cover of a form of contract, from the beginning until the end, the greatest enormities were perpetrated. In October, 1855, the American ship, "Waverly," laden with coolies for Callao or Havana, put into the port of Manila to bury the captain, who had died of dysentery. Some of the Chinese asked to go ashore, and an altercation resulted in which one Chinese was shot and the others forced below, and the hatches battened down. These were not opened until the next morning, when two hundred and fifty-one coolies were found dead. In a case of an outbreak on board an Italian ship, the "Napoleon Canavero," in 1865, the coolies were similarly driven below, and the hatches battened down; but unwilling to perish by suffocation, they set fire to the ship. The crew escaped in boats, and the ship, with her cargo of human beings, was consumed by the flames.

Nor were these tragedies exceptional ones. In March, 1871, Chief Justice Smale of the Supreme Court of Hong Kong, delivered a decision in a case in which the question of the character of the Macao coolie trade was dealt with at length. Speaking of its extent and the horrors by which it was attended he said ;—

"It seems to me that if cause and effect have their full "operation, this abominable traffic will find for itself a "terrible and appalling end. I have endeavored to make "up a list of ships in which there have been coolie ris"ings and destruction of the ships, and the voyages have "failed. That list is not complete, but I believe that "within a short period some six or seven ships carrying "about 3,000 coolies have been burnt or otherwise destroyed, with an immense loss of life, including captains and a relatively large proportion of the crews."

This iniquitous traffic has been put an end to by the government of China co-operating with the government of Portugal, which latter was slow to awake to the enormities practiced under its flag in Macao, and with it has ended all emigration of the Chinese to Peru and Cuba.

It is difficult to learn how many Chinese there are in these districts. They have been estimated as high as one hundred and forty thousand in Peru and nearly as many more in Cuba. It is probable that there are from fifty to sixty thousand in each.

If I should be asked now to state the prospects of Chinese emigration to all parts of the world, I should respond that there will be a slow but continued movement from the northern provinces into Manchuria and Mongolia, and from the northwest into Ili and Kashgaria, should those regions remain free from disturbances and confirmed to Chinese rule. In the central provinces the ravages of the great rebellion have not been repaired, and there appears to be no tendency on the part of the people to leave their homes, nor any pressure of necessity urging them to do so. From the southern districts the Chinese will move toward the fertile plains of Cochin China and Further India, generally, as they find encouragement. Their exodus will be accelerated vastly if the French extend their dominions, as they are almost certain to do. They will go also to the English and Dutch settlements in the straits of Malacca, and the Malay archipelago. The Dutch are constantly pressing forward their territories, and there is an irrepressible, though resisted tendency toward an extension of the settlements of England. There will be also a continued stream of emigrants to Australia and California, but it is not a growing stream in either case, and causes are at work which will bring about a diminution of the flow in both directions, irrespective of legislation or restrictive treaties.

It will be seen that I do not limit the scene of the future activities of Chinese to their own immediate territories, but that I do expect that they will find their most appropriate theatre in their own quarter of the globe. It is then among populations which are less vigorous and worthy than themselves, in districts which hardly know the industrious hand of man, and which are not less rich in natural resources than the most favored lands of the earth, that these people may work out their manifest destiny. Whether the empire stands or falls, the race is an enduring one, and its destiny will be accomplished. I have no less faith that our own will be.

APPENDIX.

The following statement in regard to the number of the Chinese in the United States has been given to me by the Census Bureau, and shows the results of the enumeration of June, 1880:

Alabama	4	Missouri	92
Arizona	1,630	Montana	1,764
Arkansas	134	Nebraska	18
California	75,025	Nevada	5,420
Colorado	610	New Jersey	176
Connecticut	124	New Hampshire	14
Dakota	238	New Mexico	55
Delaware	1	New York State	919
District of Columbia	13	North Carolina	....
Florida	18	Ohio	114
Georgia	17	Oregon	9,513
Idaho	3,378	Pennsylvania	160
Illinois	210	Rhode Island	27
Indiana	33	South Carolina	9
Iowa	47	Tennessee	26
Kansas	19	Texas	141
Kentucky	10	Utah	501
Louisiana	473	Vermont	....
Maine	9	Virginia	6
Maryland	5	West Virginia	14
Massachusetts	237	Wisconsin	16
Michigan	27	Washington Territory	3,182
Minnesota	53	Wyoming	914
Mississippi	52		
Total			105,448

	Aggregate Pop.	*Chinese Pop.*
San Francisco	233,953	21,745
California (including San Francisco)	864,686	75,025

It will be seen that these figures do not differ materially from the estimates given in Part I. of this book.

January 26, 1881.